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A STUDY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE JAPANESE STATE

BY

SEIGO TAKAHASHI, A.M.

"SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY, IN THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY."

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TO

PROFESSOR SAKUSABURO UCHIGASAKI

CONTENTS

Introduction.

Chapter.

I. The Most Ancient Literary Records.

II. Racial Factors.

III. The Beginning of the State.

IV. General Conclusions.

FOREWORD.

In this volume I have endeavored to set down the results of my investigation regarding the origin of the Japanese State. The original Kojiki and Nihongi contained in the Kokushi-Taikei have been used. In the text, Kojiki is indicated by K, the Nihongi, by N. I have sometimes been obliged to use translations of the Kojiki and the Nihongi, for which I am especially indebted to the splendid work of Mr. Aston and Dr. Chamberlain. In some cases, I have found it necessary to make slight changes in the wording of parts which I have quoted, for which I offer apologies.

Time has not permitted me to make an index, but I hope to be able to do this in the near future.

I am indebted to Miss Genevieve Caulfield for her scholarly advice and correction of the English. I am also indebted to Professor Charles A. Beard, under whom I specialized in Politics, for his counsel and guidance.

SEIGO TAKAHASHI.

New York, October 1917.

INTRODUCTION.

Most students of history are often puzzled by the romance of the past, especially when they deal with the events of antiquity.

Archaeologists tell us that human society is very old, and was fairly well developed long before the art of writing was invented.

Things which happened in remote ages were transmitted to the historic period in the form of oral traditions, and it seems probable that, when recorded, these stories had departed far from the true picture of the times. Moreover, the early writers were generally uncritical and whatever their purpose might have been, they have always been inclined to adorn things of old.

Herodotus, the father of history, is said to have been more picturesque than critical, and this is the reason why the celebrated Thucydides accused him of caring more about pleasing his readers than about telling the truth. Far more uncritical than the Greek historian were the Japanese writers of the eighth century A. D., whose works[1] are romantic and contradictory in character, despite the fact that they were commanded by the rulers to place on record the genuine traditions and scattered documents concerning the early life of the nation.

It matters little whether these romantic stories are acceptable to us or not. The fact remains that they have come down to the present time and present a fascinating problem to the modern students.

1. The Kojiki and Nihongi.

The mere analytical study of ancient writings will be of little assistance to the students of today in their impartial research. They must search in many fields for a firmer foothold than old records alone can afford. Archaeology, Anthropology, Philology, and the other sciences are indispensable to the study of ancient society.

It is interesting to note that, at present, archaeologists and anthropologists are revealing to us primitive types of society which are quite different from those dealt with by the eighteenth century philosophers, while our predecessors of the last century, men like Stubbs, Maine, Maitland, Gierke, Brunner, Coulanges, and Spencer, have disclosed to us the processes in the origin and development of the early political institutions of Europe. Step by step the beautiful romance which once veiled all old European societies is now losing its charm for Occidental students, and it is no exaggeration to say that an authoritative outline of the early institutional life among European nations is almost established.[2]

How different is the situation in Japan!

Although we have had bequeathed to us from our forefathers two most valuable sources[3] for the study of the history of the nation, still we have neither an exhaustive work produced by scientific research nor, if we leave out of account Professor K. Asakawa's "The Early Institutional Life of Japan," have we an original exposition on the subject by a fearless scholar.

There seems no doubt that when the celebrated Filmer wrote "Patriarcha," the ancient theory of the divine origin of kings appealed strongly to men of the Seventeenth Century, and yet, as the succeeding centuries have witnessed, the doctrine was

2. Jenks, History of Politics.
3. The Kojiki and Nihongi.

entirely brushed aside long before the formative years of the new science.

So also the modern Frenchmen did away with Bossuet's natural monarchy.[4]

It is an established fact that an abstract principle as such has no value for the modern European mind which seeks the historical facts as primarily important, though it is generally accepted that all doctrines have more or less utility.

On the other hand, in Japan, the island people have ever kept in their hearts the patriarchal theory as the explanation of the origin of the state. To them, the Imperial Ancestors are also their own ancestors, and consequently the Imperial house is the principal branch of the whole national family.[5]

Of course, the systematic formulation of this theory belongs to the modern epoch, but that its principal idea had its origin in the pre-historic period, and that ever since it has been consecrated by the political religion, "Shinto," seem undeniable.

It is true that in Japanese history the actual political power has always shifted from one controlling element to another, and yet this did not cause the destruction of the patriarchal principle.

Thus, today, the patriarchal theory is still a fundamental belief among the Japanese people. No matter whether it is supported by historical evidences or not, it represents the prevailing sentiment of the nation. Numerous as are our historians and students of politics, no one ever seems tempted to examine the historical validity of this orthodox theory.

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4. La Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte.
5. Hagino, Dainihon-Tsūshi, vol. I, pp. 1-2.
   Ariga, Dainihon-Rekishi, vol. I, pp. 1-2.

One who has studied American history knows well that while the hostile feeling between the North and the South was still hotly raging, no history of the Civil War, such as Jefferson Davis' "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," could be accepted in the North. In these days, however, there can be no doubt that most American people recognize the fact that the study of Southern politics is indispensable to a clear understanding of the true nature of the brothers' war.

In Japan, since the sacredness of the patriarchal origin of state has always been a deep-rooted belief among the dominating people, it appears quite natural that the ordinary students would not dare to undertake such a critical investigation as would oppose the preconception of the ruling people.

If this be true, we can understand one of the most important reasons why our students of history and politics have assumed an uncritical attitude. It does not follow, however, that because we have no fearless students the patriarchal theory is historically unsound. The old records, which undoubtedly contain much of real value, must be re-examined by critical students who understand the spirit of modern science. If, after such an examination, there be found historical evidences quite different from the prevailing theory, they must be the basis upon which to construct a new theory regarding the origin of the Japanese State.

Passing now to the consideration of the results of archaeological and anthropological research, we find a more or less different situation.

It is doubtful whether the Japanese archaeologists and anthropologists have up to this time made any great contribution to the study of antiquity. But it is evident, at a casual glance, that their diligent investigation of material remains of prehistoric times, characteristics of bodily form, traits of language,

economic achievements, peculiar customs and beliefs, is gradually clearing up the darkness of past ages. For instance, ancient spulchres are constantly being unearthed by serious students in this field. They are not only discovering various old implements, shell-heaps, caverns and monuments, but are also making considerable progress in searching for the racial sources of the original population of Japan.[6]

It is noteworthy, moreover, that, like the Occidental students, they are endeavoring to disregard the subjective values of historical happenings and that they try to consider them objectively, simply as a sequence of events, regardless of their influence upon the course of our own civilization.

Thus there lies great hope in our archaeologists and anthropologists. Their opinion regarding the earliest society is far more reliable than that of the historians. With their aid we can obtain a more exact and uncolored picture of the beginning of the state.

One of the most salutary utilities in writing a history conforming to the spirit of modern science consists in the fact that it induces students of politics to re-examine the historical soundness of the existing theories regarding the nature of the state, thus leading them to a formulation of more scientific theory.

At present there are in Japan so many definitions of the state that we cannot enumerate them. Yet, as a matter of convenience, they can be reduced substantially to two.

One school contends that the state is an association of men who seek their welfare and common advantage in their combined efforts.[7] The other insists that the state is a person or

6. See the second chapter of the volume.
7. Minobe, Kenppo-Kōwa, pp. 2-22.

persons possessing sovereignty.[8] According to the former, the sovereignty in Japan resides in the body politic as a whole. The latter argues, on the other hand, that the Emperor is the possessor of sovereignty and is therefore the state.

It is to be noted that whatever different points of view these two schools may have, both accept with equal readiness the political orthodoxy, namely, the patriarchal origin of the Japanese state.[9]

Moreover, these definitions are formulated chiefly by students of law.

In view of these facts, we may fairly say that we have as yet no authentic definition of the state which can be regarded as the product of careful consideration of the historical happenings, as well as the various data concerning present politics.

World civilization is growing more and more complex, and it is true that its chief motor forces are states.

What, then, is the State?

Are our students of Constitutional Law scientifically correct in their definition?

Is the patriarchal origin of the state historically sound?

Before any answer can be given to these questions, we must first re-examine things of old, for historical evidences are our principal means of understanding the past and present, as well as our guide for the future voyage of Civilization.

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8. Nesugi, Kenppo-Kōgi, pp. 77-208.
9. Especially see, Dr. Kakehis' "Kokkano-Kenkiu."

CHAPTER I.

THE MOST ANCIENT LITERARY RECORDS.

Our sources for the study of Ancient Japan are the Kojiki, or "Records of Ancient Matters," and the Nihongi, or "Chronicles of Ancient Japan." These are the only materials that have come down to us from the early times.

I. THE KOJIKI.

In spite of the fact that our language is quite different from Chinese, it is problematical whether the ancient Japanese had their own letters. Wide investigation on the subject has been made by many students thus far, yet we possess no evidences of anything except the Chinese letters having been known among the ancient Japanese.[1]

The Nihongi states that the Chinese letters were first officially introduced into Japan through Korea during the reign of the Emperor Ojin (270-310 A. D.).[2] Moreover, we learn from a Chinese source[3] that the Golden Chinese Seal, which was excavated in the region of Naka County of Chikugen in February, 1786 A. D., is the one which was presented by the Chinese Emperor, Kwang Wu, to one of the tribal Chiefs of Kiushiu[4] in 57 A. D.

The Japanese of early times utilized the imported Chinese letters, and seem to have been so ingenious that they used the Chinese ideographs simply as representing sounds and with them

1. Gunsho-Ruijiu, vol. XIII, p. 1 (Kogoshui). Hirata, however, maintains the contrary of opinion; Hirata-Zenshiu, vol. 1 (Seiseki-Gairon, pp. 13-15). Also see Rosny, "Questions d' Archeologie Japonaise."
2. K. pp. 117-118. N. p. 118.
3. Shiseki-Shiuran, vol. XX, p. 10 (Hau Han Su).
4. This seal is preserved at the Tokio Imperial Museum.

formed pure Japanese words. In addition, they adopted Chinese as it is for literary purposes. However, according to both the Kojiki and Nihongi, these characters were not used extensively until the Empress Suiko's reign (595-628 A. D.), which was subsequent to the introduction of Buddhism. This reign is associated with the celebrated name of Prince Shōtoku, the great reformer, who first undertook the task of compiling old historical documents. The Nihongi tells us that[5] in the year 620 A. D. Prince Shōtoku and the Minister, Soga-no-Umako, began the work of compiling the nation's history, and before many years had elapsed, their labor resulted *in the completion* of those records, namely, Tennōki, or "Records of the Emperors," and Kokuki, or "Records of the Country," and Honki, or "Original Records of Japanese Proper." Yet no one knows what the contents of these records were, for they were lost in 645 A. D., when Soga-no-Yemishi, the Chief of the Soga Clan, in whose custody the records were placed, having been charged with the usurpation of the Imperial perogatives, set fire to his residence and committed suicide.[6]

The second attempt to compile the national history was made during the reign of Emperor Temmu (673-686 A.D.).

It seems to have been undertaken in two ways, for the Nihongi relates that "16th day (of third month of 681) the Emperor took his place in the Great Hall of Audience, and there gave orders to the Imperial Princes, Kawashima and Osakabe, to Prince Hirose, Prince Takeda, Prince Kuhada and Prince Mino, to . . . Muraji Ohoshima and Omi Kobito, to commit to writing the chronicles of the Emperors, and also of matters of high antiquity. Ohoshima and Kobito took the pen in hand themselves and made notes,"[7] while the preface of Kojiki tells us that the same Emperor conceived that "The

5. N. p. 390.
6. The Coup d' état of 645 A. D.

Chronicles of the Emperors and likewise the original words in the possession of the various families deviate from exact truth, and are mostly amplified by empty falsehoods; if at the present time these imperfections be not amended, ere many years shall have elapsed, the purport of this, the great basis of the country, the grand foundation of the monarchy, will be destroyed!"

On this account he desired to have "The Chronicles of the Emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased and the truth determined in order to transmit (the latter) to after ages."

Thereupon, he commanded a Chamberlain, Hiyeda-no-Are,[8] a man of wide reading and powerful memory, to recite the genealogies of the Emperors and the words of former ages.

Unfortunately, however, the death of the Emperor brought about the postponement of the compilation of the work, and it was not until twenty-five years later that the matter was taken up by the Empress Gemmyo (708-715 A. D.).

On the 18th of September, 711 A. D., according to the Kojiki,[9] the Empress ordered a learned scholar, Futo-no-Yasumaro, to transcribe the records stored in Hiyeda-no-Are's memory.

Four months' labor sufficed for this work, and on the 28th of January, 712 A. D., it was submitted to the Empress, it having been named "Kojiki," or "Records of Ancient Matters."

Such is the history of the "Kojiki," the oldest history of the nation, which has been handed down from the early ages to the present.

7. N. p. 522. Aston vol. II, p. 350.
8. K. p. 6-7. Chamberlain, p. 9-11.
9. K. p. 7-8.

The Kojiki is written in Chinese characters, and its composition is in a mixed phonetic style (Kana-Mazhiri-Bun) which Yasumaro, the author, in its preface explained as follows:

"In reverent obedience to the contents of the Decree, I have made a careful choice. But in high antiquity both speech and thought were so simple that it would be difficult to arrange phrases and compose periods in the characters (Chinese style). To relate everything in an ideographic transcription would entail an inadequate expression of the meaning; to write altogether according to the phonetic method would make the story of events unduly lengthy. For this reason have I sometimes in the same sentence used the phonetic and ideographic systems conjointly, and have sometimes in one matter used the ideographic record exclusively. . . ."[10]

This work chiefly relates the Imperial history from an unknown date to the end of the Empress Suiko's reign—in detail as it goes backward toward remote antiquity and more briefly as it comes nearer the period where the story ends. However, as it contains no chronology, students have no choice but to rely upon the Nihongi, or "Chronicles of Ancient Japan," which contains its own chronological account.

As stated above, it is evident that the author of the Kojiki derived his materials mainly from an oral recital by Hiyeda-no-Are, but whether he used any other sources is entirely unknown to us.

Since, however, the Kojiki was written after the introduction of Chinese letters, literature and of Buddhism, it is evident that its author was influenced by Chinese and Buddhist ideals and that whether he would or no, the character of his work bore some traces of this influence in spite of the extraordinary care

10. K. pp. 7-8. Chamberlain, pp. 11-12.

which he took to preserve the genuine tradition of the national life.

Were we to point out the uncritical character of the Kojiki, it would entail endless arguments. It must therefore suffice to say that the whole character of the work is misty and contradictory. Nevertheless, it speaks in the original tongue of the national traditions and it is on this account that the modern students cannot disregard its practical value to their historical research.

2. THE NIHONGI.

We have seen somewhere above that in the reign of the Emperor Temmu, an Imperial Commission undertook the task of compiling the national history, and that the work was left unfinished when the Emperor died in 686 A. D. Twenty-five years later this incomplete work was taken up by the Empress Gemmyo, who commanded two scholars, Ki and Miyake, to compile it.[11] They concluded their work within the same year and submitted it to the Sovereign. With regard to its contents, however, no authentic statement can be made, for this historical work has not been handed down to us. It is suggested that it was written in the Manyō-Kana (Chinese ideographs employed phonetically)[12], and that it proved unsatisfactory to the Empress, who desired to have the national history with its glory and its dignity.[13]

During the reign of the same Sovereign, we see the creation of another Commission to compile the new glorious history of the nation. The Commission was headed by the Imperial Prince, Toneri, and it included among its members Futo-no-Yasumaro, the author of the Kojiki.

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11. Z. K. p. 83.
12. Hagino, Dainihon-Tsūshi, vol. I, p. 367.
13. Ariga, Dainihon-Rekishi, vol. 1, pp. 703-706.

It is not stated in any records at what time the Commission took the work of the compilation in hand, but we know from the Zoku-Nihongi, or "Supplementary Chronicles of Japan," which were written in 787-789, that the Commission completed its work in the year 720 A. D., while the new Empress Genshō (715-723) was on the throne.[14] The work received the name of Nihongi, or "Chronicles of Ancient Japan," and consisted originally of thirty volumes and one volume containing the Imperial genealogies. Unfortunately, however, the last one has been lost.

The Nihongi is written in the pure Chinese style.

It covers the period from high antiquity to the last year of the Empress Jitō's reign, describing things in detail and authentically as the story comes nearer the year 697 A. D.

Not only the Kojiki and the Kana history of 714, but also several other records which were then existing seem to have been used by the compilers of Nihongi, for it contains numerous passages quoted from unnamed authorities. Moreover, we notice that in the Nihongi different and contradictory stories are often related about the same events, thus leaving the selection of the correct account entirely to the judgment of the students of succeeding ages. In this respect the Nihongi resembles a work of compilation rather than history in the modern sense.

The Nihongi has a chronology. It gives leading events, precise years, even months and dates, especially after the alleged Coronation of Jimmu, the first Emperor of Japan, at Yamato. The year 660 B. C. is assigned to the Coronation of the Emperor Jimmu, and from that time the Nihongi dates its own historic period. A careful examination must be made, however, to ascertain whether this chronological account is correct or not. But by what standard can it be judged?

14. Z. K. p. 122.

Chinese and Korean history seem to serve that purpose.

How far, then, can we attribute to Chinese and Korean history accuracy superior to that of Japanese history?

In so far as the chronological research of Chinese history is available, it may be fairly said that the year 776 B. C. is the beginning of a credible history of China, for we learn from an old poem of the Book of Odes that an eclipse of the sun occurred in the Seventh year of the despotic reign of Yu-Wang (781-771 B. C.), it being regarded by the writer of the poem as a sign of the Heavenly indignation at Yu-Wang's crimes. This event is calculated by the western astronomers and historians to have actually occurred on August 29, 776 B. C.[15]

With regard to the Korean history, the situation is very different. Yet it is pointed out by Mr. Aston that during the first five centuries of the Christian era Chinese annals contain sixteen notices of events in Korea, and in ten of these instances Korean history agrees.[16]

If this be true, there will be no serious error on the part of students in using Korean history as well as Chinese in verifying the accuracy of Japanese history.

Turning now to the consideration of the chronological account given in the Nihongi, we must first note that the Nihongi states that from the descent of Ninigi at Hiuga to the first year of Prince Senu's eastward advance, 1792, 470 years elapsed.[17] On this account, some[18] argue that originally Japan had her own science of chronology. But as there has been found no other external evidence to support it, little attention is paid by students to this argument.

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15. Hirth, "The Ancient History of China," pp. 171-175.
16. Aston, "Early Japanese History," pp. 47-48.
17. N. p. 79.
18. Ariga, "Nihon-Rekishi," Vol. I, p. 470.

On the contrary, our students seem disposed to give much weight to Chinese history which relates that "the Was (Japan) are not acquainted with the New Year or the four seasons, but reckon the year by the spring cultivation of the field, and by the autumn ingathering of the crops."[19] Thus there seems little doubt that the Japanese of early times were not acquainted with any systematic calendar until the official introduction of the Korean and Chinese Science of Chronology, or, at least, not before the first importation of Chinese letters.[20]

The Nihongi tells us that in the fourteenth year of the Emperor Kimmei's reign (554 A. D.), a scholar learned in the calendar came by the request of the Imperial Court to Japan from Pèkché.[21] And again "Winter, 10th month (the Empress Suiko's reign 602 A. D.) a Pèkché priest named Kwal-leuk arrived and presented by way of tribute books of calendar-making, of Astronomy, and of Geography, and also books of the art of invisibility and of magic. At this time three or four pupils were selected and made to study under Kwal-leuk."[22]

It is interesting to note that these statements are verified by a stone monument at Dogo of Iyo, on which we read the inscription that it was erected in 598 A. D.

With regard to the different character of the Chinese and Korean calendars much could be said. Yet, for our purpose it may suffice to say that a systematic calendar has been in use in Japan since the latter part of the sixth century A. D.

In that case, it becomes evident that the chronology of the Nihongi, before the sixth century, cannot be accepted by any careful students without a reinvestigation. Because of this

19. Shiseki-Shiuran, Vol. XX, p. 19.
20. Aston, "Early Japanese History," p. 20. Chamberlain, "Kojiki," p. 43.
21. N. p. 333.
22. N. pp. 375-376. Aston, Vol. II, pp. 126.

fact, Professor Naka made a comparative study of Japanese and Korean history, and has come to the conclusion that the dates and facts in the Nihongi which are said to have occurred before the Emperor Yuriaku's reign (457-479 A. D.) are utterly out of harmony with those recorded in the Korean history. He further points out that this inconsistency is largely due to the chronological inaccuracy of the Nihongi.[23]

According to the Nihongi, the three kingdoms of Korea were conquered by the Empress Jingo in 200 A. D.[24] But no Korean history speaks of this event, which, if it occurred, certainly must have been a great event to Korea. Still more inconsistent is the description of the Nihongi in respect to the introduction of Chinese letters into Japan.

It relates that "15th year, Autumn, 8th month, 6th day (284 A. D.) The King of Pèkché sent A-chik-ki with two quiet horses as tribute. A-chik-ki was able to read the classics (Chinese), and so the Heir Apparent, Uji-no-waka-iratsuko, made him his teacher. Hereupon the Emperor (Ojin) inquired of A-chik-ki, saying:—'Are there other men superior to thee?' He answered and said:—'There is Wang-in, who is superior.' Then Areada-wake . . . and Kamunagi-wake were sent to Pèkché to summon Wang-in.

"Sixteenth year, spring, 2nd month, Wang-in arrived, and straightly the Heir Apparent took him as teacher, and learned various books from him."[25]

And yet, we learn nothing about this from any Korean source. On the contrary, it is stated in a Korean history, Tonk-kuk-thong-Kan, that "in 372 A. D. Kokuli established a high school where pupils were instructed. Three years later (375

23. Shigaku-Zzashi, Vol. VIII.
24. N. pp. 164-165.
25. N. p. 118. Aston, Vol. I.

A. D. Pèkché appoints a certain Kohung as professor. It was not until now that Pèkché had any records. This country had no writing previous to this time." Another Korean history, San-guk-Sa, also tells us that from 346 to 375 A. D., the first written records were begun in Pèkché.[26]

Whatever credence students may give to these Korean statements, the fact remains that accounts in Japanese and Korean history continue to disagree until the year 461 A. D.

In 461 A. D. we see for the first time the chronological coincidence in both histories. "Summer, 4th month (461 A. D.)," says the Nihongi, "Lord Kasyuni (i. e., King Kero) of Pèkché, having learned by rumor that Iketsu Hime (a Korean lady) had been put to death by burning, held council, saying, 'The ancient custom of sending tribute of women to be made Uneme (Court Mistress) is contrary to decorum, and is injurious to our country's reputation. Henceforward it is unmeet that women be sent as tribute.' Accordingly, he intimated to his younger brother, Lord Kun, saying: 'Do thou go to Japan and serve the Emperor.' Lord Kun answered and said, 'My Lord's commands must not be disobeyed. . . .' So at last he took his leave and went on his mission to the Court (Japanese)."[27]

This description is confirmed by a Korean history, Pèkché Shinsen, which remarks upon the same event, saying: "In the year Kanoto-Ushi (461 A. D.) King Kero sent his younger brother, Konkishi, to Great Wa (Great Japan) to wait upon the Tenno (Emperor) and to confirm the friendship of the previous sovereigns."[28]

From this time the dates and facts in the Nihongi are never widely divergent from those of Korean records.

26. Aston, "Early Japanese History," p. 46.
27. N. p. 241. Aston Vol. I, p. 345.
28. N. p. 242. Aston Vol. I, p. 346.

Another important point which students must bear in mind when considering the chronology of Nihongi is that the reigns and the lives of the Emperors before 400 A. D. are unnaturally long, for the average age of the first Seventeen Emperors from Jimmu down to Richu was 109 years, and, while, for the first four centuries of the Christian era, the three Korean Kingdoms, Silla, Kokuli, and Pèkché, had 16, 17 and 16 rulers, respectively, in Japan only seven Emperors reigned.[29]

There may be various reasons for this discrepancy, yet that the Chinese passage, "They (Japanese) are a long-lived race, and persons who have reached 100 years are very common,"[30] had an effect upon the compilers of the Nihongi is more than likely. But this supposition has not been sufficiently verified to afford us an adequate explanation. On what ground, then, did the compilers of the Nihongi assign the year 660 B. C. to the alleged Coronation of the Emperor Jimmu?

Professor Naka replies that one of the Chinese calendars is based upon the so-called Sexagenary cycle system, in which sixty years form a smaller cycle, the sixtieth year being regarded by the Chinese as a great year.

Twenty-one of such cycles form a larger cycle of 1,260 years. Without doubt, the compilers of the Nihongi adopted this system. As 600 A. D. (the Empress Suiko's reign) was the last year of a smaller cycle, they reckoned years from that date backward toward antiquity until they reached the year 660 B. C., the beginning of the larger cycle. He further states that by this calculation Jimmu's coronation at Yamato may be said to have occurred in the year 660 B. C.[31]

If this be true, we are confronted by the fascinating problem of revising the chronology of the Nihongi.

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29. Aston, "Early Japanese History," p. 44.
30. Shiseki-Shiuran, Vol. XX, p. 19.
31. Shigakuzzashi, Vol. VIII.

As stated above, the Nihongi is written in pure Chinese style in order to glorify Japanese national history. For this reason, the stories in this work are not only beautified with fine and dignified phrases but also reflect how great was the Chinese influence upon the early Japanese writers. The following paragraphs illustrate the mode of expression in the Nihongi: "Fourth year (the Emperor Nintoku's reign, 316 A. D.), Spring, 2nd month, 6th day. The Emperor addressed his ministers, saying, 'We ascended a lofty tower and looked far and wide, but no smoke arose in the land. From this we gather that the people are poor, and that in the houses there are none cooking their rice. We have heard that in the reigns of the wise sovereigns of antiquity, from every one was heard of the sound of songs hymning their virtue, and in every house a ditty. How happy are we. But now, when we observe the people, for three years past, no voice of eulogy is heard, the smoke of cooking has become rare and rare. . . .'

"Third month, 21st day. The following decree was issued: 'From this time forward, for the space of three years, let forced labor be entirely abolished, and let the people have rest from toil. . . .'

"Seventh year, summer, 4th month, 1st day. The emperor was on his tower, and, looking far and wide, saw smoke arising plentifully. On this day he addressed the Empress, saying: 'We are now prosperous. What can there be to grieve for?' The Empress answered and said: 'What dost thou mean by prosperity?' The Emperor said: 'It is doubtless when the smoke fills the land, and the people freely attain to wealth.' The Empress went on to say: 'The palace enclosure is crumbling down, and there are no means of repairing it, the buildings are dilapidated so that the coverlets are exposed. Can this be called prosperity?' The Emperor said: 'When Heaven establishes a Prince, it is for the sake of the people. The Prince must therefore make the

people the foundation. For this reason the wise sovereigns of antiquity, if a single one of their subjects was cold and starving, cast the responsibility on themselves. Now the people's poverty is none other than our poverty; the people's prosperity is none other than our prosperity. There is no such thing as the people's being prosperous and yet the Prince in poverty.' "[32]

Thus the spirit of early Japan is ambiguously portrayed in a foreign tongue, and this is the reason why some students[33] insist upon placing the Kojiki, or "Records of Ancient Matters," above the Nihongi as the original source for the study of ancient Japanese society.

3. THE KOJIKI AND NIHONGI.

The preceding paragraphs reveal to us that both the Kojiki and Nihongi are in character romantic and uncritical and that the chronology of the Nihongi before about 500 A. D. is untrustworthy. Because of these facts, some authorities attempt to discredit as fiction the greater part of both writings, especially that relating to events occurring before the sixth century of our era.

Undoubtedly the accounts of events which took place before the eastward advance of Prince Senu (later the Emperor Jimmu) are legendary. But since we find that in both the Kojiki and Nihongi there is no break between the fabulous and the real, the whole story deserves careful attention. Arbitrarily to disregard any part of these stories would seem to endanger an accurate comprehension of prehistoric times.

The Kojiki devotes about one-half of its volume to describing events occurring before the Christian era, while the greater part of the Nihongi treats in detail of events both domestic and foreign which took place after that time. On this account, it is

32. N. pp. 195-196. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 278-279.
33. Hirata-Zenshiu. Vol. I, pp. 1-22.

the Kojiki which contains more valuable material for the study of the origin of the Japanese state.

Moreover, the Kojiki speaks in the native tongue of the early national life and its style is more natural than that of the Nihongi.

But, as we have seen, the Nihongi has its own strong points. It cannot be said, therefore, that the one is more authentic than the other. Students must use both sources, carefully comparing them, and if they find external evidences verifying the account in either, these evidences must be the standards by which the academic value of the story is determined.

4. SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS.

Besides the Kojiki and Nihongi, we have so many supplementary and secondary sources for our study that a mere enumeration of their names is a task of some difficulty. We shall, therefore, mention only the following writings:

1. Kogoshūi, or "Gleanings from Ancient History," by H. Imibe.

2. Seishiroku, or "Catalogue of Family Names."

3. Kojiki-den, or "Commentary on the Kojiki," by Motoori.

4. Isho-Nihonden, or "Foreign Notices of Japan," by K. Matsushita.

5. Koshi-Tsū, or "Treatises on the Ancient History," by Arai.

6. Koshi-Chō, or "Sources of the Ancient Histories," by Hirata.

7. Kiujiki, or "Chronicles of Old Matters."

CHAPTER II.

RACIAL FACTORS.

1. *The Geographical Features of Japan.*

Before entering upon the consideration of the racial factors, we must observe briefly the geographical features of Japan in order to comprehend its connection with the Asiatic continent.

According to the opinion of some of our geologists,[1] Japan was at one time a part of the neighboring continent, and some of her islands are of volcanic origin. Many evidences have been produced by the Geological Survey, which seem to prove the soundness of this contention. Since, however, these changes must have taken place long before the dawn of Japanese civilization, they have no immediate concern for the present study.

The Japan of today (except Chosen or Korea) consists of a chain of narrow islands lying along the eastern coast of Asia, and extending from latitude 21° 48′ N. to 50° 56′ N. and from longitude 119° 20′ E. to 156° 32′ E. The chief islands, named from north to south, are Southern Sakhalien, Hokkaido or Yezo, Hondo (the main island of Japan), Shikoku (near Osaka), Kiushiu (southwest of Hondo), and Formosa. The principal dependent archipelagoes are the Kurile islands (east of Hokkaido), Iki-Tsushima (between Kiushiu and Korea), Goto islands (west of Nagasaki), Ryukyu islands (between Kiushiu and Formosa) Bonin islands (southeast of Ryukyu islands), and Pescadores islands (between Formosa and southern China). Of these Hokkaido, Hondo, Shikoku and Kiushiu are the most important for our study. The shores of southern Japan are washed by the warm currents known as the Kuro-shiwo which come

1. Outlines of the Geology of Japan, pp. 84-85.

from the South Seas, while the coasts of northern Japan are swept by the cold Arctic current. Formosa is separated from the Philippines, its southern neighbor, by Bashi Channel, and from the Chinese coast by Formosa Channel. Korea is separated from Japan only by Broughton Channel, less than 25 miles in width. Kamchatka from the Kurile islands by the Kurile Strait and Soya Strait is between Saghalien and Hokkaido.

Such being our geographical situation, it seems possible that whoever the primitive inhabitants were they had from early times access to the Asiatic Continent and Polynesia, probably by the following sources:

Two in the North.

1. From Hokkaido via the Kurile islands to Kamchatka.

2. From Hokkaido via Soya Strait to Saghalien and thence to the Amur region of Manchuria.

Four in the South.

1. From Kiushiu via Iki and Tsushima to Korea and thence to China.

2. From Izumo (the western part of the main island) to Korea or, by the aid of the current, to southern China and Polynesia.

3. From Kiushiu via Goto islands to southeastern China.

4. From Kiushiu via Ryukyn islands, Formosa, and the Philippines to Malaysia and Polynesia.

This indicates the possibility of the Japanese being a mixed race.

2. *The Early Population of Japan.*

Who were the aborigines of the Japanese islands?
Was the dominant group in the ancient society which the

Nihongi desigates as "Japanese proper"[2] a part of the aborigines?

If not, when and from where did they come?

These are the great problems which, despite the diligent investigation of our students, remain unsolved.

Considering the aborigines of Japan, we first notice in the Kojiki and Nihongi the names of three strange people, who, if they were races distinct from the Japanese proper, may be regarded as the early inhabitants of the islands. They are Tsuchi-gumo, or "earth spiders"; Kumaso, or "brave bandits," and Yemishi, or "eastern savages."

One passage in the Kojiki and three or four in the Nihongi describe the Tsuchi-gumo. According to them, they were pit dwellers scattered throughout the western part of the main island. They had "short bodies and long arms and legs. They were of the same class as the pigmies."[3] When Prince Senu (later Emperor Jimmu) was about to establish the Yamato Government, the Tsuchi-gumo offered feeble resistance to his victorious army. But it was not until the reign of the Emperor Keiko (the twelfth Emperor) that they were completely subjugated. Strange to say, the Chiefs of Tsuchi-gumo had Japanese names, some of which are identical with those of Shinto priests,[4] and they also seem to have had Japanese followers. For this reason, it cannot be determined whether or not the Tsuchi-gumo were different from the Japanese proper without the external evidences which we shall consider later.

The first important reference to the Kumaso in the Japanese annals is made in the account of the Emperor Keiko's reign.

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2. N. p. 390.
3. N. p. 90. Aston, pp. 129-130.
4. Hafuri.

The Nihongi[5] tells us that in 82 A. D. the Kumaso, occupying Kiushiu, especially that section of Hiuga, Osumi, and Satsuma, rebelled and refused to pay tribute to the Yamato Court. Thereupon, the Emperor Keiko made a progress to Kiushiu or "Tsukushi" to pacify the rebels. Many underhanded measures were employed to conquer the Kumaso, but owing largely to the bravery of the Kumaso the Imperial troops were frequently baffled. After eight years' battle the Emperor was able to subjugate them, one tribe after another. In 97 A. D. the Kumaso again rebelled, and the Emperor commanded the celebrated Prince Yamato-take to proceed to Kiushiu with a large force. This expedition resulted in the great victory of the Prince. But as years passed, the Kumaso rebelled again and again, thus making the western frontier a scene of bloodshed for many years.

There was a third expedition under the Emperor Chūai (192-200 A. D.), after which the Kumaso must have remained quiet for centuries, because henceforth no mention of them is made in either the Kojiki or the Nihongi.

Instead, our annals speak of the Hayato, or "Falcon men," who lived in the east southern part of Kiushiu, and are said to have descended from Hosuseri, one of the Japanese tribal chiefs.

In a remote age before the time of Jimmu, according to the Nihongi, Hohodemi, one of the Imperial ancestors, engaged in war against his elder brother Hosuseri. This contest resulted in Hosuseri's defeat, and the vanquished chief's life was spared only on condition that he and his followers and their descendants should serve the family of the victor. These descendants were known as the Hayato, and as a result of the early agreement some of them were from time to time taken to the Palace to serve instead of watch-dogs.[6] We also see in another chapter

5. N. p. 135.
6. N. pp. 73-74. K. p. 59.

of the Nihongi that upon the death of Emperor Yuryaku (457-479 A. D.) "the Hayato lamented night and day beside the Misasagi (tomb) and refused the food offered to them, until at the end of seven days they died."[7]

Whether the Hayato were descended from Hosuseri or not, many students express the belief that they were identical with the Kumaso.

But who were these Kumaso or Hayato? Did they belong to the same racial family as the Japanese proper?

Our annals contain no description of the physical characteristics of these people. So we must leave the answer to these questions to archaeologists and anthropologists.

We now come to the consideration of the Yemishi or "eastern savages," the third element in the primitive population mentioned in our annals.

The earliest reference to the Yemishi in the Nihongi is made in the account of Prince Senu's Yamato conquest. (Yamato is located in Central Japan.)

The Prince, who was uncertain about the disposition of a band of inhabitants, ordered his general, Michi, to construct a spacious hut and invite the eighty doubtful characters to a banquet. In the midst of the entertainment, the host gave a signal to his warriors, upon which followed the wholesale slaughter of the guests.

In commemoration of this victory, the Prince composed two short poems, one of which runs as follows:

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7. N. p. 262. Aston, Vol. I, p. 375.

"Though folks say
That one Yemishi
Is a match for one hundred men,
They do not so much as resist."[8]

The second reference to the Yemishi in the Nihongi and the first in the Kojiki are made in the chapter referring to the Emperor Keiko.

The Nihongi relates that in 95 A. D. the Emperor Keiko commanded Takenouchi-no-Sukune to explore the northeastern section of the main island. After two years, Takenouchi returned to the Yamato Court and reported, saying, "In the Eastern wilds there is country called Hitakami. The people of this country, both men and women tie up their hair in the form of a mallet, and tattoo their bodies. They are of fierce temper, and their general name is Yemishi. Moreover, the land is wide and fertile. We should attack it and take it."[9] Thirteen years later there was a widespread rebellion in the eastern wilds, and the frontier was in a state of turmoil. Thereupon the Emperor ordered his son, Prince Yamato-take, the Conqueror of the Kumaso, to organize an expedition against the eastern provinces.

On this occasion, the Emperor gave an address in which he characterized the racial features of the Yemishi: "We hear that the eastern savages are of violent disposition, and are much given to oppression. Their hamlets have no chiefs, their villages no leaders, each is greedy of territory, and they plunder one another. . . . Amongst these eastern savages the Yemishi are the most powerful, their men and women live together promiscuously, there is no distinction of father and child. In winter they dwell in holes; in summer they live in nests. Their clothing consists of furs, and they drink blood. Brothers are suspicious of one another. In ascending mountains they are like

8. N. p. 86. Aston, Vol. I, p. 124.
9. N. pp. 141-142. Aston, Vol. I, p. 200.

flying birds; in going through the grass they are like fleet quadrupeds. When they receive a favor, they forget it, but if an injury is done them they never fail to revenge it. Therefore, they keep arrows in their top-knots and carry swords within their clothing. Sometimes they draw together their fellows and make inroads on the frontier. At other times they take the opportunity of the harvest to plunder the people. If attacked, they conceal themselves in the herbage, if pursued, they flee into the mountains. Therefore, ever since antiquity they have not been steeped in the kingly civilizing influences. . . . Truly Heaven commiserating our want of intelligence and the disturbed condition of the country has ordained that Thou (Yamato-take) shouldst order the Heavenly institution, and save the monarchy from extinction. Moreover, the Empire is Thy Empire, and this dignity is Thy dignity. I adjure Thee to exercise profound policy and far-reaching foresight in searching out iniquity and watching against crises.

"Admonish with majesty, comfort with kindness, avoid having recourse to arms, and thou wilt naturally inspire loyal obedience. So by cunning words thou mayst moderate the violent Deities (local chiefs) and by a display of armed force sweep away malignant demons."[10]

After this, Prince Yamato-take sailed along the coast to Suruga, where he landed. The local chieftain of Suruga deceived the Prince, and plotted to destroy his party. Escaping from this difficulty, however, Yamato-take succeeded in making a counter-attack. Step by step he pushed on, and finally penetrated into Hitakami[11], the stronghold of the Yemishi, taking many brigand chiefs as prisoners. He then proceeded to Sunano, dispatching Otomo, one of his generals, to explore Koshi. Both parties met again at Mino and marched to Owari. Upon hearing about the

10. N. pp. 144-145. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 203-204.
11. Hitakami seems to have been identical with present Hitatsu.

Ohmi brigands, Yamato-take advanced against Ohmi, but suffered from the difficult nature of the ground, and, becomng seriously ill, he ultimately retired to Ise, where, in the year 111 A. D., his remarkable career came to an end when he was only thirty years of age.

When the sad news of Yamato-take's death reached Yamato, the Emperor lamented night and day, exclaiming, "Oh, our son, Prince Wo-usu (Yamato-take). Formerly when the Kumaso revolted he was still a boy. But for a long time he bore the labor of campaigning. Afterwards he was constantly at our side, supplying our deficiencies. Then when the troubles with the eastern savages arose, there was no one else whom we could send to smite them. So, in spite of our affection for him, we sent him into the country of the enemy. No day passed that we did not think of him. Therefore, morning and evening we longingly awaited the day of his return. Oh! what a calamity! Oh! what a crime! While we least expected it, we suddenly lost our child. Henceforth with whom to help us shall we manage the vast institution?"[12] The Yemishi prisoners were taken as an offering to the shrine of Ise. They proved so noisy, however, that the priestess of Ise, Yamato-hime, transferred them to Yamato. The Yamato Court dividing them assigned them to the five provinces, namely, Harima, Sanuki, Iyo, Aki and Awa. In after ages these Yemishi prisoners constituted the Saeki clan, and performed a military function at the Yamato Court.

For more than two centuries after this the Yemishi of the northeastern provinces remained quiet. But as time went on, and while the Yamato government was expending its energy upon internal troubles, the eastern frontier again became the scene of rebellion. The Yemishi frequently stormed the Imperial garrisons. One expedition against them was followed by another, and many castles were built on the northeastern front in order

12. N. p. 149. Aston, Vol. I, p. 210.

to check the enemy's westward advance. It was not, however, until the beginning of the ninth century, when General Sakanoye Tamuramaro pierced all the enemy's lines, that general peace began to prevail in northern Japan.

Though the extracts from the Japanese annals relating to the Yemishi are brief, still they are sufficient to enable us to draw two conclusions. First, that long before the inauguration of the Yamato government, the Yemishi inhabited central and northern Japan. Second, that the Yemishi were a race distinct from the Japanese proper.

We find further proof for this latter conclusion in another passage from the Nihongi which reads, "Autumn, 7th month, 3rd day (659 A. D.) The Envoys were sent to the land of Thang (China). They took with them a Yemishi man and woman of Michinoku (northern Japan) to show to the Thang Emperor. The Emperor inquired of them, saying: 'In what quarter is the land of these Yemishi situated?' The Envoys answered respectfully, saying: 'It lies to the northeast.' The Emperor inquired of them, saying: 'How many tribes of Yemishi are there?' The Envoys answered respectfully, saying: 'There are three kinds, the most distant are called Tsugaru, the next Ara-Yemishi (rough) and the nearest Nigi-Yemishi (quiet). These now here are Nigi-Yemishi. They bring tribute yearly to our Country's Court.' The Emperor inquired of them, saying: 'In their country are there the five kinds of grain?' The Envoys answered respectfully, saying: 'No, they sustain life by eating flesh.' The Emperor inquired of them, saying: 'Have they houses in their country?' The Envoys answered respectfully, saying: 'No, they have their dwellings under trees, in the recesses of the mountains.' The Emperor went on to say: 'When we look at the unusual bodily appearance of these Yemishi, it is strange in the extreme.' "[13]

13. N. pp. 464-465. Aston, Vol. 11, pp. 261-262.

Fortunately, at present, we find the remnants of the Yemishi in the modern Ainu whose present numbers hardly exceed twenty thousands. They live in the extreme north, as the result, it is said, of their defeat in the struggle for self-preservation.

Thus we have seen the early inhabitants of Japan as they are described in the Kojiki and Nihongi. Since, however, there is no way of knowing how far we can rely upon these accounts, the problem of the racial sources of the Japanese requires further study from many other standpoints.

Turning now from the consideration of written records to external evidences, we see first of all the ancient remains unearthed by archaeological and anthropological research.

Up to the present day, there have been found throughout Japan a number of shell-heaps (Kaizuka) varying in size from insignificant dimensions to five hundred square yards. They are most numerous in the regions of Kwantō (around present Tokio) and Tōhoku (the northeastern provinces of the main island). It is assumed that originally these shell-heaps stood at the seaside, but, owing to the gradual silting of the Pacific coast, they have been separated miles from the coast.[14] This process has probably required an interval of from five to ten thousand years. Whether this view is geologically sound or not, there can be no doubt that the shell-heaps were observed from an early period, for the Hitachi Fūdoki, or "Topography of Hitachi," compiled about 713 A. D., speaks of them as existing at that time.[15]

Students who believe that the Tsuchi-gumo or "earth-spiders" were the earliest inhabitants of Japan, attribute the formation of these shell-heaps to the Koropokguru (underground dwellers,

14. Yagi, Nihon-Kōkogaku, pp. 19-20.
15. Gunsho-ruijiu, p. 1121.

so called by the Ainu), the modern representatives of whom are said to be the Eskimo. The supposed relationship between the Koropokguru and the modern Eskimo is based upon the presence of eye guards on the images of the primitive sites and harpoons which have been excavated, similar to those used at the present time.[16] According to the opinion of these students, both the Koropokguru and Tsuchi-gumo were pit dwellers and pigmies, and were therefore identical. They had immigrated to Japan long before the arrival of the Yemishi or "Modern Ainu." When these races struggled for their existence, the newcomers won the day. The main population of Koropokguru naturally retreated to the north, and the Tsuchi-gumo whom the Japanese Prince Senu encountered in the Yamato province were a remnant of this race remaining in Central Japan. The Koropokguru lived on shell-fish, and this is the reason for the formation of shell-heaps.[17] To strengthen this theory the advocates produce the relics of pit-dwellers in Hokkaido and Itorop, together with the following Ainu legend: "In very ancient times, a race of people who dwelt in pits lived among us. They were so very tiny that ten of them could easily take shelter beneath one burdock leaf. When they went to catch herrings, they used to make boats by sewing the leaves together, and always fished with a hook. If a single herring was caught it took all the strength of the men of five boats or ten sometimes to hold it and drag it ashore, while whole crowds were required to kill it with their clubs and spears. Yet, strange to say, these divine little men used even to kill great whales. Surely these pit-dwellers were Gods."[18] This theory has been refuted, however, by those who, after closer examination of these supposed evidences, have concluded that the formation of shell-heaps is due to cannibalism practised among the

16. Tsuboi, "Jinruigaku-Zzashi, Feb. 1903."
17. Tsuboi, "Jinruigaku-Zzashi, April, 1897. Kida "Rekishi-Chiri, March 1907."
18. Batchelor, "The Ainu and their Folk-lore," p. 13.
Batchelor, C. f. transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. X, pp. 208-209.

ancient Yemishi or "Ainu," and that, so far as the chief islands of Japan are concerned, there has been found no trace of pigmies. According to this view, the Tsuchi-gumo were Japanese outlaws who perhaps lived in muro or caves, for their chiefs not only had Japanese names but are described in a passage of the Nihongi as of "mighty frame and having numerous followers,"[19] while in the Kojiki they are mentioned as brave cave men.[20] Although in another passage the Nihongi speaks of the Tsuchi-gumo as pigmies and pit-dwellers, it does not necessarily follow that they were identical with the Koro-pok-guru.

The supporters of this theory further hold that the pigmy idea is discredited not only by a careful study of the Japanese annals but also by the fact that pit-dwelling was prevalent among men of ancient time.[21]

Moreover, they say that the pits of Hokkaido and Itorop show no marks of antiquity, their orderly arrangement suggesting a military encampment rather than the abode of savages. On excavation they yielded only unglazed pottery and a Japanese dirk, and no relics of pit-dwelling pigmies could be found. Regarding the Ainu legend, these students contend that it cannot be believed, owing to the absence of tangible evidences in the chief islands, which could in any way contribute to its credibility. Even though it might contain some truth, it must have concerned events which occurred outside of the main island.

They further point to the fact that whereas numerous place-names in Hondo (the main island) have been identified as Ainu words, none has been traced to any alien tongue which might have been spoken by pre-Yemishi immigrants.

This theory not only repudiates the Koropokguru idea but it goes further and advances the hypothesis that the earliest

19. N. p. 136.
20. K. p. 68.
21. C. f. Nakada, "Rekishi-Chiri, March, 1907.

inhabitants of Japan were the Yemishi or "Ainu." In examining these two theories we find that as far as negative evidences are concerned, the Yemish argument is much sounder than that supporting the Koro-pok-guru and Tsuchi-gumo idea. But upon what positive grounds does the Yemishi theory stand?

Archaeological research reveals to us the existence of two distinct cultures in Japan, together with traces of a third. One culture is represented at the present day by numerous relics imbedded in the soil, or in shell-heaps. It is characterized by the total absence of metal and the presence of pottery not turned on a wheel, indicating neolithic culture. The remains of the other are found in sepulchral chambers and caves. Here we find iron implements. The third is a bronze culture.

Geographically, sites of a neolithic culture have been found throughout the country, whereas those of bronze and iron are, as we shall see, confined to central and western Japan.

There seems little doubt that the neolithic relics should be associated with the aborigines of Japan, the others being regarded as the products of more advanced peoples. It is upon this culture that the Yemishi or Ainu theory is based.

The sites of neolithic culture in Japan are so numerous that more than four thousand have already been found.[22] In Hondo (the main island) these sites occur more frequently in the northern than in the southern half. For, if we draw a line from Ise to Ohmi, we find that in the southern section only one-sixth of the sites found in the north have been discovered. In Shikoku and Kiushiu there is about the same percentage of these sites as in the section of Hondo south of the Ise-Ohmi line. There are comparatively few in Hokkaido, but this is probably due to

22. A list published by the Imperial University in 1900, records about 3,500 sites.

the fact that this section is still largely covered by forest and unreclaimed land.

It is interesting to note that the most refined and finished pottery has been found in large quantities in the region of the Kwanto provinces (around present Tokio) and its superior quality becomes more noticeable as we advance toward the north of the main island. The pottery in the south is cruder than that in Kwanto, which probably indicates an earlier origin.

A very small amount of pottery has been found in Hokkaido. Some of it is coarse, but the occasional presence of wooden and iron utensils appears to signify a degeneration of the art in the far north rather than a beginning.

The relics of the neolithic culture, which have been excavated from the shell-heaps, or soil, vary in kind. Yet for our purpose it will suffice simply to enumerate them as follows: Shell-heaps, hooks, arrow-heads, arrow-necks, needles, bone-presser for flaking stone, bow-tips, wooden handles, mallets or hammers, axes, chisels, saws, knives, spear-heads, fishing-weights, harpoons, mortars or mills, sling stones, buttons, swords, sinkers, gaffs, scrappers, hoes, whetstones, images, masks, bowls, plates, caps, boats, cooking-pans, bottles, jars, shell, stag horns, animal bones, teeth and bones of man and human skulls and skeletons, etc.[23] The implements and utensils are made from stone, bone, horn, bamboo, wood and clay. It must be noted that those obtained from the shell-heaps are of greater archaeological value than the others, for the shell-heaps are regarded as a pure and genuine relic of the primitive culture in Japan.

According to Mr. Yagi, the shell-heaps are most numerous in the Kwanto, but decrease toward the far north and south.[24]

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23. C. f. Yagi-Nichon-Kokogaku," pp. 1-75.
24. Yagi, Nihon-Kōkogaku, pp. 41-42.

Even as far south as Satsuma, however, some shell-heaps have been found.

We may fairly say from the foregoing evidences that even though the geographical distribution of its relics varies, the neolithic culture of Japan was uniform throughout the entire country.

It is this fact that induced the supporters of the Yemishi theory to work out the hypothesis that the aborigines of Japan consisted of one race, and that this race was the Yemishi.

They further hold that, since the skulls and human bones excavated from the shell-heaps have been identified with those of the Ainu,[25] these shell-heaps are unquestionably of Yemishi or Ainu origin.

It is contended by some who oppose the Yemishi theory that the modern Ainu do not use pit-dwellings, or stone implements, nor do they make pottery. Moreover the patterns on their wooden articles differ from those on the pottery and stone implements of the neolithic age.[26] But this has been refuted by students of the Ainu culture, who maintain that pit-dwellings have been used by the Ainu of Saghalien and the Kuriles and that in Hokkaido and Kuriles pottery and stone implements have been found. They also contend that in ancient times there certainly might have been racial sub-divisions among the Yemishi and that the modern Ainu, mere decadent representatives of the Yemishi, cannot be expected to retain all the marks of their ancient culture.

So far all evidences seem to favor the Yemishi or Ainu theory. But before any conclusion can be reached we must consider the race mentioned in the Japanese annals as the Kumaso, or "brave

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25. Koganei, "Beiträge zur Physichen Anthropologie der Aino," Band 2, No. 2. "Mittheilungen aus der Medicinischen Facultät der Kaiserlich Japanischen Universität."

26. Munro, "Primitive Culture in Japan," p. 184.

bandits," for, whoever they might have been, the fact remains that they are spoken of in these writings as the primitive inhabitants of southern Japan. As we have seen, nothing is recorded in either the Kojiki and Nihongi regarding the physical features of the Kumaso. Mr. Numata advances a theory that the Kumaso originally belonged to the Sow race of Borneo and that they found their way to Japan on the Kuro-shiwo, or "Black tide."[27] He attempts to prove this by showing that the customs of both races are similar. The theory is plausible, but, owing to the lack of external evidences in Japan which could verify this argument, its validity must for the present remain a matter of question.

On the other hand, it is argued by the supporters of the Yemishi theory that the Kumaso belonged to the same racial family with the Yemishi or Ainu, for, not only many place names in Kiushiu are identified as Ainu words, but the meanings of Kuma (bear) and So (brave) signify Ainu origin.[28]

Whether this opinion be sound or not, no relics of the Kumaso as a race distinct from the Yemishi have as yet been found. Moreover, we learn from a Chinese source[29] that the early inhabitants of southern Japan seem to be a race allied to the Yemishi. These facts seem to give much weight to the Yemishi theory.

Why, then, and how did they, the northern and southern Yemishi, become separated?

The most credible explanation may be that in remote ages the Yemishi came from south and populated the Philippines, Formosa, and Japan. In Japan they met the Japanese immigrants who probably came from Korea, landing at neighboring ports. Both races struggled for supremacy. But the Japanese, being more highly civilized, easily separated the Yemishi popula-

27. Numata, Nihon-jinshu-Shinron.
28. Motoori-Zenshiu, Vol. II, pp. 240-241. Kokushi-Sōranko, Vol. II, pp. 19-21. Omori, Kokushi-gaisetsu, pp. 226-229.
29. Hau Han Su.

tion, pushing one part to the south and the other to the north. The southern Yemishi (Kumaso) were soon subjugated, but those in the north were left unconquered for many years.

Thus the Yemishi theory seems to be verified from many standpoints. There is, of course, a possibility that further research in this field may change the present theory and attribute the neolithic culture of Japan to some other races, for the geographical situation of Japan would make it easy for people to come to the country from every direction. But, at present, we share the opinion, so admirably expressed by Dr. Munro, that "there are no anthropological reasons for maintaining that the Ainu (Yemishi) were not formerly prevalent throughout Japan."[30]

We have already noted that besides the neolithic culture of Yemishi archaeological research of the pre-historic Japan has revealed the existence of an iron culture which is confined principally to the section south of the Ise-Ohmi line, the center of this culture being Yamato. The fact that for many years Yamato was the center from which ancient Japan was ruled, makes it clear that the iron culture should be regarded as belonging to the Japanese.

But where did these Japanese come from?

In their chapters on the legendary period, both the Kojiki and Nihongi speak of the creation of the Japanese islands by a Kami[31] couple, Izanagi and Izanami, who undertook this task in obedience to a decree of the producing Kami,[32] at Takamanohara, or "Plain of High Heaven."

The annals also tell us that all the Japanese came down from Takamanohara, but all confined their settlements to southern and

30. Munro, "Primitive Culture in Japan," p. 198.
31. K. p. 10. N. pp. 1-8. Kami means superior.
32. K. p. 10. N. pp. 5-6.

western Japan, principally in Izumo, Tsukushi and Yamato. We read that generally speaking, these Japanese had a tribal organization, and that their religion Shinto was a combination of ancestor and nature worship, which has been the political religion of Japan down to the present time.

Mention is made of the use of iron, spades, axes, swords, spears, metal armour, shields, bows, arrows, and other arms as well as pottery, gold, silver, mirrors and gems. Grains and marine animals together with textiles of such as mulberry and hemp seem to have provided for their daily necessities. Carriages and ships were in use and it is interesting to find that the crocodile is mentioned in the Japanese legend.

This legend refers to Yorunokuni or "the country of night," Aounabara, or "the sea plain," Nenokuni, or "Hades," and Tokoyonokuni, or "the eternal land," to which places the Japanese seem to have also descended from Takamanohara.

The sea plain has been identified, as we shall see, with a neighboring province in Korea, but the rest of them, as well as Takamanohara, have remained unidentified.

On the other hand, the Chinese records tell us that "the Japanese are descended from the Chinese Prince Tai Peh of Wu,"[33] and that "a colony from China under Su-she settled in Japan in 219 B. C.,[34] and again that the northern and southern Was (Japanese) are subject to the kingdom of Yen."[35] Yen was a kingdom of northern China which had an independent existence from 1122 to 265 B. C.

Referring to the manners and customs of the pre-historic Japan the Chinese records give us the following description:

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33. Shiseki-Shiuran, Vol. XX, p. 28.
34. Shiseki-Shiuran, Vol. XX, p. 18.
35. Shiseki-Shiuran, Vol. XX, p. 7.

"Wa (Japan) lies nearly east of Kwai Ki (in Chekiang), and therefore the laws and customs are similar. The soil is favorable for the production of grain and hemp, and for the cultivation of the silk mulberry. They understand the art of weaving. The country produces white pearls and green jade. There is cinnabar in the mountains. The climate is mild, and vegetables can be grown both in winter and summer. There are no oxen, horses, tigers, leopards, or magpies. Their soldiers have spears and shields, wooden bows and bamboo arrows, which sometimes are tipped with bone. The men all tattoo their faces and adorn their bodies with designs. Differences of rank are indicated by the position and size of the patterns. The men's clothing is fastened breadth-wise and consists of one piece of cloth. The women tie their hair in a bow, and their clothing resembles our gowns of one thickness of cloth. It is put on by being passed over the head. They use pink and scarlet to smear their bodies with as rice-powder is used in China. They have stockaded forts and houses. Father and mother, elder and younger brothers and sisters live separately, but at meetings there is no distinction on account of sex. They take their food with their hands, but have bamboo trays and wooden trenches to place it on. It is their general custom to go bare-footed. Respect is shown by squatting down. They are much given to strong drink. They are a long lived race, and persons who have reached 100 are very common. The women are more numerous than the men.

"All men of high rank have four or five wives; others two or three. The women are faithful and not jealous. There is no theft and litigation is unfrequent. The wives and children of those who break the law are confiscated and for grave crimes the offender's family is extirpated. Mourning lasts for some ten days only, during which time the members of the family weep and lament, whilst their friends come singing, dancing and making music.

"They practice divination by burning bones, and by that means they ascertain good and luck, and whether or not to undertake journeys and voyages. They appoint a man whom they style the 'mourning keeper.' He is not allowed to comb his hair, to wash, to eat meat, or to approach women. When they are fortunate, they make him valuable presents; but if fall ill, or meet with disaster, they set it down to the mourning-keeper's failure to observe his vows, and together they put him to death."[36]

If these Chinese accounts are reliable, the riddle contained in the Japanese legend can be easily solved. But, since these accounts are challenged by many students who believe that they refer only to the Kumaso,[37] the question of their validity must for the present remain unanswered. We must therefore turn to the archaeologists and anthropologists for further evidences of the probable origin of the Japanese.

Up to this time archaeological research has shown that most of the relics of Japanese culture have been found in tombs. These tombs vary in form and consist chiefly of mounds, caves and dolmens.

From their construction and magnitude the mound and cave appear to have been the tombs of the gentry or lower officials, while the dolmen might have been the sepulchre of higher personages. The mound and cave are found also in the Yemishi culture, but the dolmen is exclusively associated with the Japanese. It is on this account that the dolmen is regarded by archaeologists as the most characteristic of Japanese tombs. As far as we can learn from the Japanese annals,[38] the building of dolmen ceased somewhere between 600 and 700 A. D., but there

36. Shiseki-Shuiran, p. 10.
37. C. f. Yoshida, "Kodai-hen," p. 266.
38. Dainihonshi. Also see, Yagi, "Kōko-Binran," pp. 77-78.

is no record of the date when this style of structure was introduced. It is said that the dolmens also existed in China from very early times, but they were not built later than the ninth century B. C.[39] In Korea we find the dolmens with megalithic roofs. These dolmens may have been brought from China to Korea and thence to Japan, but there is no date to be found in the Korean annals.

Mr. Munro,[40] estimating the evolution of dolmen from the most recent ones in northern Japan to those built at an earlier date in western Japan, has concluded that this form of tomb began to be used in about 500 B. C. Mr. Gowland places the date about three hundred years later.[41]

A porcelain coffin similar to those used in Asia minor about three thousand years ago, has been found in Mimasaka (near Izumo). If it can be proved that this coffin was used by the Japanese, it would appear that they have come to the country at a very early date, perhaps bringing the knowledge of dolmen building with them or acquiring it later from China through Korea. If there is any truth in this conjecture, it may give some weight to Mr. Munro's opinion.

The geographical distribution of these dolmens is exceedingly interesting, for it enables us to ascertain archaeological facts verifying the movements of the early Japanese described in the legend.

The sites of these dolmens occur most frequently in Yamato (present Kinai), then in Izumo (present Sanindo) especially, Iwami, Izumo, Hoki, Inaba, and Tamba. They are also found in Sanyodo, Shikodu and north and east Kiushiu. Dr. Tsubois' investigation points to the fact that there is no dolmen in the

39. Brinkley, "A History of the Japanese People," p. 50.
40. Munro, "Primitive Culture in Japan," p. 173.
41. Gowland, "The Dolmens and burial mounds in Japan." Archaeologia, Vol. LV.

southern section of Kiushiu.[42] In northern Japan we find a large group of dolmens in Kwanto and comparatively few in Iwaki, but the northern sites belong to the later period.

Among the dolmens there is one class deserving special mention. This is a double mound which, however, never contains more than one dolmen. We know that these mounds were the burial places of the ancient Emperors and there is reason to believe that they were also used as the tombs of powerful chiefs, for the Nihongi[43] tells us that the Great Minister Soga-no-Yemishi erected one during his lifetime. They have been found in Yamato (Kinai) north, central and southeast Kiushiu, Izumo, Harima, and Kwanto (especially Kotsuke). Comparing these archaeological facts with the Japanese legend, which speaks of the existence of three centres among the early Japanese, the oldest being Izumo, we find that the written accounts are borne out by the scientific discoveries. Does this conformity not indicate that the legend of the Kojiki and Nihongi is based upon something more substantial than mere surmises of the 8th century writers?

Be this as it may, the presence of dolmens in both Izumo and Korea throws some light upon the probable direction from which the early Japanese came, even though it is of no assistance in helping us to determine to what race they belonged.

Among the relics discovered in the Japanese tombs, we find iron swords, daggers, arrow-heads, spear-heads, halberd-heads, armour, helmets, stirrups, bridle-bits, ornamental trappings for horses, axes, hoes, spades, chains, rings, buckles, nails, and handles, bronze, or copper arrow-heads, spear-heads, helmets, arm and leg guards, shoes, belts, mirrors, rings, bracelets, and jingle-bells (suzu), silver or gold rings, chains, and pendants,

42. Kume, Kodai-shi, p. 243.
43. N. p. 37.

curved jewelry (magatama) and other gems, stone coffins, porcelain coffin, terra cotta or clay images, (haniwa), burial jars, sacred utensils (iwaibe), wooden implements and miscellaneous pottery.

It must be remembered that although the Japanese tombs have yielded bronze mirrors, bowls, jingle-bells, and stone weapons and implements made to imitate those of metals, the salient feature of Japanese culture is iron. The swords are all of iron and some have at the end of the tang, a disc bearing a perforated design of two dragons holding a ball which suggest Chinese origin or imitation of Chinese workmanship.

Others have pommels surmounted by a bulb set at an angle to the tang. These swords resemble those used by the Turanians. Still others have been found in Kwanto, which are said to be similar to those of western Asiatic origin. The continental origin of these various kinds of swords is unquestionable, but whether those found in the Japanese tombs were made in Japan or not, is a matter which cannot be proved conclusively. We learn from a Chinese source that "Sin Han, one of the three ancient Korean kingdoms, produced iron, and that Wa (Japan) and Ma Han, the most western of these Korean kingdoms, traded in it and used it as currency.[44] Moreover, in the Japanese annals, the sword of Susanoo is called Orochi-no-Kara-Sabi,[45] Kara, being a Japanese name for Korea and it further tells us that some swords were made in Japan. By this we may conclude that the early Japanese knew something of the art of sword making and that they also may have traded with Korea. May not this also suggest Japanese immigration through Korea?

Practically all the dolmens contain round bronze mirrors. It is said that the art of bronze work was known in China twenty

44. Toiden, or "Chronicles of the Eastern Barbarians," (Hau Han Su)
45. N. p. 37.

centuries prior to the Christian era. One chapter of the Japanese annals tells us that a bronze mirror was made by Ishikoritome in a remote age.[46] In other parts, we find references to mirrors having been sent from Korea to Japan as tribute. A Chinese account mentions that in 242 A. D. the Chinese Emperor sent 100 sheets of bronze mirror as a present to the Japanese Queen.[47] Copper was not mined in Japan until after the introduction of Buddhism. Consequently the early Japanese must either have obtained these bronze mirrors from Korea or brought the art of making them with them in which case they would have been obliged to get materials from Korea.

This suggests the existence of close intercourse between Japan and Korea.

The dolmens have also yielded magatama or "curved jewels" and kudatama, or "cylindrical jewels." Minerals for these jewels are jade, nephrite, chrysoprase, agate, amber, jasper, quartz, glass and others. The first three of these minerals, however, have never been found in Japan. It is probable that they were introduced from Korea in the form of tribute as they were regarded as precious treasures. If this be true, we have another indication of the close contact of Japan with Korea.[48]

Other important spoils of the Japanese tombs are Iwaibe or "sacred utensils" and Haniwa or "Terracotta and clay images."

The Iwaibe are the most characteristic of Japanese pottery. They are of great hardness, having metallic rings which are sometimes used for handles and sometimes for ornaments. Their decorations are exceedingly simple and restrained, sometimes showing imitations of textiles.

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46. K. p. 26. N. p. 29.
47. Shiseki-Shiuran, p. 16.
48. C. f. "Kagami-to-Tsurugi-to-Tama," by K. Takahashi.

In nearly every case the vessels appear to have been moulded on the wheel and they are interspersed with the figures of small jars, horses, deer, wild boars, dogs, birds, tortoises, and human beings.

The Iwaibe seem to have been made for funerals or other ceremonies, for their colors are subdued, varying from dark brown to light gray.

Although some of the Iwaibe have no resemblance to those of Korea and China, yet speaking generally, we can find the counterpart of most of them in northern Korea.

The Haniwa, or "Terracotta and clay images," have been found around the dolmens. They consist of cylinders surmounted by figures or heads of animals and human beings. We learn from the Nihongi that "in the year 2 B. C. Prince Yamato died and was buried. Thereupon his personal attendants were assembled and were all buried alive upright in the precinct of the Misasagi (the Imperial Burial place). For several days they died not, but wept and wailed day and night. At last they died and rotted. Dogs and crows gathered and ate them. The Emperor (Suinin) hearing the sound of their weeping and wailing, was grieved in heart, and commanded his high officers saying: 'It is very painful thing to force those whom one has loved in life to follow him in death. Though it be an ancient custom, why follow it, if it is bad? From this time forward take counsel so as to put a stop to the following of the dead.' In the third year A. D. the Empress died. Sometime before the burial, the Emperor commanded his ministers saying, 'We have already recognized that the practice of following the dead is not good. What should now be done in performing this burial? Thereupon, Nomi-no-Sukune came forward and said, 'It is not good to bury living men upright at the tumulus of a prince. How can such a practice be handed down to posterity? I beg

leave propose an expedient which I will submit to Your Majesty.' So he sent messengers to summon up from the land of Izumo a hundred men of the clay worker's Be (Be means clan or corporation). He himself directed the men of the Clay Worker's Be to take clay and form therewith shapes of men, horses, and various objects which he presented to the Emperor. . . ."[49] This indicates the ancient Japanese practice of human sacrifice for the service of the dead, but it must be remembered that as Dr. Tylor remarks, this custom was "one of the most widespread, distinct and intelligible rites of animistic religion,"[50] and was practiced from time immemorial by the Chinese, the Manchu Tartars, and many other nations of northeastern Asia. In China a device to substitute images for human beings seems to have been introduced as early as the 7th Century B. C. It is more than likely that Japan owed this new idea of substitution to China, but it must have come through Korea, for as the Nihongi states[51] the Haniwa workers were Izumo people who undoubtedly were in close contact with the Korean peninsula from the earliest date.

It must be noted that from the most remote times a sword, mirror and magatama have been the regalia of Japan.[52] If we can assume that these three relics together with the Iwaibe and Haniwa were inseparably associated with Korea, may we not hope to be lead to a possible solution of this vexed question, the origin of the Japanese people?

According to the Nihongi,[53] Susanoo, one of the Japanese Chiefs and an important figure in the legend, accompanied by his son Itakeru went to Silla in Korea where he lived for some time in Soshi-mori (Ox-head Mountain). His Japanese pos-

49. N. pp. 126-127. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 178-181.
50. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," p. 458.
51. N. p. 127.
52. Sanshu-no-Jingi.
53. N. p. 37.

thumous title is Gozu-Tenno. It is said that the Japanese term of Gozu (ox-head) corresponds to a Korean word Soshi (ox-head). Consequently, Gozu-Tenno indicates that Susanoo was the ruler of Ox-head mountain in Korea. Another account in the Nihongi[54] tells us that Susanoo brought gold and silver from Korea to Japan while his son, Itakeru, introduced seeds of trees. Itakeru was afterwards deified in Japan, for we learn from the Yengi-shiki or "regulations of the Yengi," that there are six shrines in Izumo called Kara-Kuni Itate Jinja, or "Shrine of Itakeru of Korea."

The Izumo Fūdoki, or "topography of Izumo," remarks that Omitsu, one of Susanoo's sons, imported cotton stuffs from Silla to Japan, unloading them at Cape Kitsuki in Izumo.

Moreover, both the Kojiki and Nihongi speak in their legendary chapter, of the marriages of Hohodemi and his son Fukiaeji (Prince Senu's father) to daughters of Watatsumi or "Kami of sea." We further learn from the Kojiki that "Prince Mikenu (Prince Senu's elder brother) crossed over to the Eternal Land. Prince Inahi (another of Prince Senu's elder brothers) went into the sea plain, it being his deceased mother's land."[55] The Seishi-Roku or "the Catalogue of family names," mentions that Prince Inahi was ancestor of Silla dynasty. Since Prince Inahi was the son of Watatsumi's daughter, it is natural to assume that the sea-plain is identical with Silla in Korea. This belief is not only expressed by a learned historiographer Otsuai,[56] but it is shared by many archaeologists. Furthermore it is asserted by some archaeologists that in northern Korea there have been found iron swords, copper spear-heads, and arrow-heads, and glass gems similar to those used by the early Japanese.

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54. N. p. 38.
55. K. p. 61. Chamberlain, p. 129.
56. Otsuai, "Teikoku-Kinenshian."

Taking all these facts and indications into consideration, we may fairly conclude that the Japanese people came from Korea and peopled western Japan. The probable date of their first immigration is about 500 B. C. or earlier. This is based upon Mr. Munro's calculation regarding the date of the introduction of dolmens into Japan, which he places at 500 B. C.,[57] if the Japanese people brought these dolmens with them they probably arrived about this time. But they may have come earlier and learned the art of dolmen building from China.

Who were the early Japanese? And where did they come from before immigrating to Korea?

At present there are two theories attempting to answer these questions.

One supports the southern origin of the Japanese. The other holds that they came from the north.

Generally speaking, the advocates of the southern theory set forth the following arguments:—

1. The early Japanese resemble the present inhabitants of the South Sea islands in the following respects: They ornamented their bodies and blacked their teeth; they used the same kinds of swords, bows, and shields; they were skillful in the manipulation of canoes and in making bamboo articles; they lived sometimes in huts, they had paternal organizations; they used masks for religious services; they were fond of dancing with accompaniment of singing and hand-clapping; and they dressed their hair in a similar fashion.

2. The Japanese term Kami or "superior," is used also in Formosa and Malay with the same meaning.

3. Jade which is one of the minerals for magatama, or "curved jewels" is produced in Cochin China.

57. Munro, p. 173.

4. Crocodile which is mentioned in the Japanese legend came from the South.

5. The use of comb is of southern origin.

6. The placing of a bronze mirror in a shrine is of southern origin.

7. The eating and cultivating of rice is of southern origin.

8. The members of the Imperial family and the other noble families in Japan are generally of the Sutsuma type which is regarded as the modern representative of the Kumaso or Hayato.

9. The above reasons are verified by Chinese records.[58]

Dr. Kume argues that the cradle of the Japanese was somewhere in India, whence they moved eastward to Indo-China, southern China, Korea and then Japan. He especially emphasises that the Shinto cult is of southern origin.[59]

Another interesting and plausible statement is made by Mr. Murdoch which reads: "The southern invaders, known at first as Kumaso and later on as Hayato, probably arrived in southern Kiushiu long before the establishment of the Izumo state. Of these invaders, evidently of sea-faring proclivities, a branch passed into south-western Korea, which according to Mr. Hulbert's hypothesis, was peopled from the south and not from the north. Those settled in Kiushiu came into conflict with the Ainu (Yemishi) a few of whom they may have driven to take refuge in the Luchu islands, while the others were exterminated or thrown back into the main island.

Meanwhile the Izumo state was founded by immigrants of Chinese extraction whose ancestors had settled among the Korean Kumaso, and dominated them by their superior culture, but from

58. Kume, "Nihon-Kodaishi," pp. 60-61.
59. Kume, "Nihon-Kodaishi," p. 57.

the paucity of their numbers had been driven to acquire the "Korean-Kumaso" language. Ultimately a branch of the Kiushiu-Kumaso came into contact with this Izumo state, or rather with its outlying dependencies and either conquered them, or came to terms and gradually amalgamated with this continental people, their superiors in culture, but their inferiors in war and in the prosaic work-a-day task of administration, and in real practical ability generally. The combination of this branch of the Kumaso and the Izumo men proved irresistible; they pushed their conquests eastward along shores of the Inland Sea, and ultimately established a strong central state in Yamato, at the expense of the aboriginal Ainu, who may already have found themselves hard pressed by the impact of the Izumo people from the north-west.[60]

The supporters of the northern theory contend:

1. Although the modern Japanese are a mixed race, it is discernible that in the Japanese upper classes who are regarded as descendants of the early Japanese, the Manchu-Korean type prevails. The Manchu-Korean type predominates in northern China and in Korea and is characteristic of Yakut, Bashkir, Kirghig, Nigurs, Urbeks, Turkomanns, Tartars and Tunguse, who are members of the Uralo-Altaic race.[61]

2. At present there are two languages in Japan, Japanese and Ainu, which have remained independent tongues in spite of the fact that many Japanese bear unmistakable signs of Ainu blood. Japan owes much to the civilization of China, but there is no strong connection between the Japanese and Chinese languages. In like manner, the Japanese language is entirely unrelated to those spoken by the Malays, the South Sea islanders and Eskimos. There is, however, a close affinity between Japanese

60. Murdoch, "History of Japan," Vol. I, pp. 51-52.
61. Baelz, "An article in the Kaikoku-Gojūnenshi," Vol. II, pp. 983-996.

and languages of Korea, Luchu, Manchuria, Mongolia, Persia, Turkey, Hungary, and Finland.[62]

3. Iron swords, spear-heads, arrow-heads, and gems similar to those used by the ancient Japanese have been found in the northern border of Korea, which was peopled by the Tunguse.

4. A porcelain coffin which was recovered in western Japan indicates the northern origin of Japanese for porcelain coffins were in use in Asia minor about 3000 years ago.

5. Chrysoprase, one of the minerals for magatama was produced in Tibet and in the region of Lake Baikal.

6. The ancient Japanese did not tattoo their bodies.

7. The ancient Japanese had white skin. This differentiates them from the Malay.

8. The ancient Japanese had an iron culture, whereas there is in Malay none similar to it.

9. The use of Sakaki or "Eurya Ochnacea," in the Shinto rites is of Korean origin.

10. Gold and silver which are mentioned in the Japanese legend were produced in Korea.

The advocates of the northern theory therefore hold that the Japanese originally lived in western Asia, whence they came through the interior of Asia to Manchuria and Korea, thence to Izumo, conquering the aboriginal Yemishi of western and southern Japan, and finally extending their sway to the central part of the main island.[63] Mr. Munro, advocating the northern origin of Japanese with some slight variation, remarks: "The

62. Nakamura, "Nihon-Kaibiakushi," pp. 1-55. Kanazawa, "Nichikan-Dogokeiron." Cf. articles on this subject by Chamberlain, Aston and others in transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.
63. Nakamura, Nihon-Kaibyakushi, pp. 1-56.

Yamato leaders if we may judge by the terracotta figures which have been left, were not pure Mongolians. Many of these figures exhibit a distinctly Caucasian appearance and the aristocratic type of Japanese preserves these features to this day. The beau ideal of the artists and poets of Japan indicates a prototype of Iranian or other Semitic affinity. That whiteness of skin was a desideratum is evident from marked allusions to it in the ancient writings. It is probable that the military aristocracy of Semitic (Assyrian?) origin were followed by a Mongolian rank and file and that modification took place to some extent before arrival in Japan. But the Semitic leaven, though outcropping among all classes according to Mendel's induction, could but partially affect the mass. It is conceivable therefore, that the Mongolian element in Japan was an imported and not an original stock."[64]

Geographically Japan is accessable not only to the Asiatic Continent but to Malaysia and Polynesia, and naturally, from a comparatively early period, she must have invited people from all directions as it is affirmed by the annals and variety of countenances among the modern Japanese. This fact causes great difficulty when we endeavor to ascertain who the original Japanese were. If the advocates of the southern theory insist upon their hypothesis, they will find nothing to prove conclusively that they are wrong. The same may be said of the supporters of the northern theory. No one really knows who the original Japanese were, but it seems an indisputable fact that they came from Korea. Nevertheless in comparing these two theories, one is struck with the facts that the northern theory is based upon more reliable evidences of archaeological and anthropological research than the southern theory and that the latter is too faithful in interpreting the legendary chapter of the Japanese annals, whereas the former seeks external evi-

64. Munro, pp. 195-196.

dences regardless of whether they conform to the legend or not. It is on this account that for the present, many students incline to believe the northern origin of the Japanese people.

If we accept the northern theory as the probable explanation of the origin of the Japanese, the question may be asked where was the Takamanohara described in the legend as the cradle of the Japanese people?

Dr. Kume, an advocate of the southern theory, thinks that it was Ise.[65] Some supporters of the northern theory consider that it was Yamato.[66] Korea and Shikoku are also suggested.

But as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, there are reasons to believe that the Takamanohara episode was created by ancient Shinto priests, whereas we have no records nor external evidences which could verify its existence. Let it suffice here to say that the identity of Takamanohara must be subjected to further investigation.

Before we leave this chapter, one more question remains to be considered; namely the bronze culture.

The sites of this culture occur for the most part in the northern half of Kiushiu and in south of the Ise-Ohmi line, the chief relics being the swords, daggers, halberds, arrow-heads and bells. With the exception of arrow-heads, these relics have always been disinterred from the soil and never from the Japanese tombs, nor from the neolithic sites. Some halberds have been traced to Shangton of China. Bells have also been associated with China, although their decoration resemble those on the Japanese pottery. The daggers bear a certain resemblance to the Malay "kirs," but there is no conclusive evidence to identify these two weapons with one another. As for swords

65. Kume, "Kodaishi," pp. 222-223.
66. Hagino, "Dainihon-Tsūshi," Vol. I, p. 14. Nakamura, p. 54-55.

and arrow-heads, it is suggested that since the stone swords and arrow-heads, which have been discovered in the Japanese tombs indicate that they are modelled after the bronze weapons, the bronze swords and arrow-heads are the connecting links between the stone age and the iron age.

Some of the bronze weapons were cast in Japan for the moulds have often been discovered. It is further interesting to note that the bronze weapons have never been found in southern Kiushiu, whereas provinces facing Korea and China have yielded them in considerable number.

However this may be, it is a matter of conjecture how this culture came into Japan. The bronze vestiges themselves show that they have a certain connection with both the Asiatic continent and Yamato. It seems also certain that this culture preceded the iron Japanese culture for it is impossible that the owners of the bronze weapons could have gained a foothold in Japan after it was held by the Japanese.

But who were the possessors of this culture in Japan?

Some express the belief that the bronze culture belonged to the earliest Japanese immigrants to western Japan and that as time went on, self-contained evolution from bronze to iron took place in Japan. The objection has been made to this opinion that no bronze relics except arrow-heads, have been found in the Japanese tombs. Mr. Brinkley replies to this objection however that, "this culture belonged to the Japanese who immigrated to Japan prior to the dolmen age.[67]

If we can prove that dolmen building in Japan was introduced after the arrival of the Japanese immigrants, Mr. Brinkley's opinion may have full weight.

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67. Brinkley, p. 49.

CHAPTER III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE STATE.

We have seen in the foregoing chapter that the early Japanese immigrating from Korea established a foothold in Japan at the expense of the aboriginal Yemishi or Ainu. It does not necessarily follow, however, that because the Japanese were victorious over the Yemishi, the Japanese state at its beginning, consisted of all the Japanese as a body politic as some ardent advocates of the patriarchal origin of the Japanese state contend.

When William, Duke of Normandy, was crowned at Westminster in 1066 A. D., he exercised his political power most effectively all over the conquered provinces. If we can accept the hypothesis that the state is the possessor of sovereign power and if this sovereign power means the most effective power over a considerable geographical area and its inhabitants, then King William I of England was himself the State. The state in this sense is unquestionably distinct from the nation which seems to be fundamentally a community of the same ethnological origin.

The Japanese legend which is contained in both the Kojiki and Nihongi must be our principal source for the study of the origin of the Japanese state. Although the Nihongi opens its first chapter with an account of the creation of the world and sets forth the legend in more detail than the Kojiki, these two records do not differ fundamentally.

As a matter of fact, the Kojiki adheres more closely to the genuine expression of the early life of the nation and therefore must be regarded as the basis for our present study. We shall, however, compare it carefully with the Nihongi and summarize the Japanese legend as follows:

At the beginning of the "Heaven and Earth," there were in Takamanohara or "Plain of high Heaven," three invisible "superiors" (Kami) namely Amenominakanushi, or "The Great Central Being," Takamimusubi and Kammusubi, or "The Great producing Superiors." These Kami formed the trinity of the Creators of the world. Two other Kami then appeared making in all five Kami known as the invisible heavenly superiors.

They were followed by seven generations of single Kami or Kami couples, the last of these couples being Izanagi and Izanami, the "superiors of desire." Izanagi and Izanami, were ordered by all the other Kami to "make, consolidate and give birth to the drifting land,"[1] a jewelled spear (Amenonuhoko) being given as a token of authority."

Thereupon, the Kami couple at once set to work and standing on a floating bridge (Amenoukibashi), they thrust the spear into the ocean and begot an island which was called Onokoroshima.

Then they gave birth to the islands of Japan, namely: Awaji, Iyo, Oki, Tsukushi, Iki, Tsushima, Sado, Toyoakitsushima, and six other small islands, assigning many Kami to take charge of them. They also brought forth the Kami of the wind's breath, of the river, the sea, the mountains, the trees, fire, etc. When Izanami, the female Kami gave birth to the Kami of fire, she lost her life and was buried on the borders of Izumo and Hōki. Lamenting the death of his wife, Izanagi like Orpheus, visited the land of night to implore her to return to him. She replied that unhappily having already eaten within the portals of the land of night, she must ask the Kami of the underworld to allow her to depart and bade him refrain from looking upon her face, while she was seeking this permission. But impatient at her delay, he broke off a tooth of his comb and lighting it approached her only to find her a hideous mass of corruption in the midst

1. K. p. 10.

of which were the eight Kami of thunder. Izanagi fled horrified while Izanami, angry at being put to shame, sent the hosts of Hades to pursue him.

Many times Izanagi baffled his pursuers until finally Izanami herself joined the chase. But Izanagi placed a huge rock in the "even pass of Hades," thus preventing her from reaching him. From the confines of the two worlds they exchanged bitter threats. When Izanagi emerged from the realm of Hades, he proceeded to Hiuga and there purified himself by bathing in a stream.

Then there were born from his person and his possessions many other Kami, the most important of whom were Amaterasu or "the goddess of the Sun" from his left eye, Tsukiyomi, or "the Kami of the Moon," from his right eye, and Susanoo, or "the Impetuous male" from his nose. Rejoicing over these three new born children, especially Amaterasu whose appearance was radiant like the sunshine, Izanagi gave her his necklace and made her ruler of Takamanohara, or the "Plain of High Heaven." To Tsukiyomi, he gave Yorunoosukumi, or "the country of Night," and Susanoo was ordered to govern Unabara, or "the sea plain." Amaterasu and Tsukiyomi went at once to their respective domains, but Susanoo, instead of going to his realm, wandered about disconsolately crying and wailing until his beard reached the pit of his stomach. Upon his father's inquiring the cause of his grief, Susanoo, the motherless child, replied that he desired to go to his mother in Hades. Whereupon Izanagi expelled him but Susanoo expressed his wish to bid farewell to his sister in Takamanohara before going into exile. After imposing this sentence upon his disobedient son, Izanagi retired to Awaji and thence to eternity.

Susanoo proceeded to Takamanohara, his journey being attended by the shaking of mountains and stopping of rivers. When Amaterasu learned his coming, she prepared to receive

him in warlike guise, for she distrusted his intention and fearing that he would plunder Takamanohara, she sternly inquired into the cause of his appearance. Susanoo disavowed all evil intentions and tried to prove his sincerity by taking an oath and engaging in a Kami-producing competition with his sister. The condition of this competition was that if his children were female he would be condemned, but if male, his sincerity would be affirmed.

They took their stands on opposite sides of the tranquil River of Heaven, and Susanoo handed his sword to Amaterasu who broke it into three pieces, chewed the fragments, and blowing them from her mouth, produced three female Kami. Then she lent Susanoo her jewels. He crunched them in his mouth and from their fragments five male Kami were born. Amaterasu claimed the males as her own, proclaiming Amenooshiho, the eldest as her heir, and assigned the females to her brother.

Thus, Susanoo won his sister's confidence. He soon, however exposed his lawless character by destroying one of Amaterasu's rice fields. He then rudely intruded upon his sister while she was celebrating a harvest festival in the Palace. But she was lenient with him and did not lose patience until Susanoo flaying a piebald horse, threw it through a hole which he made in the roof of the Palace, into the room where Amaterasu was weaving garments. She was so greatly offended that she retired into a murky cavern placing a rock at the entrance, whereupon darkness covered the universe.

The "voices of a myriad Kami were like unto the flies as they swarmed and a myriad portents of woe all arose."[2]

In despair the eight hundred myriads of Kami assembled in the bed of the tranquil river and took counsel together to find some means of enticing Amaterasu from her retirement.

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2. K. p. 26. Chamberlain, p. 54.

"Accordingly the Kami Omohikane with profound device and far-reaching thought at length gathered long-singing birds of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another.

"Moreover, he made the Kami Tatsukara to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ameno-Koyane, ancestor of the Nakatomi, and Futo-dama, ancestor of the Imibe, dug up a five-hundred branched true Sakaki (Cleyera Japonica) tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu. On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand mirror. On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings. Then they recited their liturgy together.

"Moreover, Ameno-Uzume, ancestress of the Sarumeno-Kimi, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skillfully performed a mimic dance."[3]

Amaterasu filled with curiosity, moved the rock even so little, and peeped from the cave; whereupon the Kami Tatsukara or "strong arm" grasped her hand and lead her to the newly built palace where three female Kami were in constant attendance.

Thus the light of the sun once more filled the "Plain of high Heaven." The eight hundred myriad Kami attributing this calamity to the misconduct of Susanoo decided to punish him by imposing a fine of thousand tables as an offering. They further ordered his beard to be cut off and his finger and toe nails to be pulled out.

The Kami Amenokoyane then recited prayers for purification after which Susanoo was expelled from Takamanohara.

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3. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 44-45.

Accompanied by his son Itakeru, Susanno descended to Korea and lived at Soshimori or "Ox-head Mountain" of Silla. Remarking that " in the region of the land of Han (Korea) there is gold and silver. It will not be well if the country ruled by my son should not possess floating riches (ships),"[4] he planted trees from which he built ships to carry the riches to Japan. He later returned to Izumo. When he arrived at the head-waters of the River Hi, he saw a chop-stick floating down the stream. Inferring that people must live further up the river, he set out to look for them. He soon came upon an old couple who were lamenting as they embraced a girl. He asked them the cause of their grief. The old man replied that he was an earthly Kami, son of the Kami of the mountains who was borne by Izanami before her departure for Hades. He further explained to Susanoo that he had once had eight daughters but every year an eight-forked serpent came from the country of Koshi and devoured one of them. This daughter Lady Kushinada was the last and at any moment the monster might appear to carry her off. Susanoo announcing himself as the brother of Amaterasu, promised them aid if they would give him their daughter. By a cunning stratagem he killed the eight-forked serpent and found in its body a sword which he sent to Amaterasu and which was later known as the "Herb queller." He then built a palace at Suga in Izumo where he lived with the Lady Kushinada. From this palace he one day beheld many clouds which inspired him to compose a poem:

"Many clouds arise,
On all sides a manifold fence,
to receive within it the spouse,
Thy form a manifold fence,
Ah, that manifold fence."[5]

4. N. p. 38. Aston, Vol. I, p. 58.
5. K. pp. 30-31. N. p. 35. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 54-55.

The Lady Kushinada bore him Ōnamuji, or "the great name possessor," after which Susanoo went to Hades.

Ōnamuji had many brothers and sisters, the eldest of whom, Itakeru, after reigning in Silla, returned to Japan and went to Kii province where he and his two sisters engaged in forestry.

Ōnamuji's other brothers were jealous of his fame, often maltreating him and sometimes even planning his death. With some difficulty he escaped these perils and went to his father Susanoo in Hades, but his visit was unwelcome and his father evinced his displeasure by trying to cause his death. It was only by the help of the Lady Shiseri, daughter of Susanoo, that he was able to return to the upper world.

He then married Princess Yamaki of Inaba and began the work of pacifying and consolidating the land. About this time the Kami Sukunahikona, son of Takamimusubi (the great producing Kami) came to Izumo from the "land of eternal" and assisted Ōnamuji in improving his realm. They introduced the practice of medicine and divination reducing disease and mortality among men and animals and greatly bettering the condition of the land.

One day Ōnamuji spoke to Sukunahikona, and said, "May we not say that the country which we have made is well made?" Sukunahikona answered and said, "In some parts it is complete and in others it is incomplete."[6] But the Kami Sukunahikona departed for the land of the eternal before the work was completed.

After this "Wherever there was in the land a part which was imperfect Ōnamuji visited it in person and succeeded in repairing it. Coming at last to the province of Izumo, he spake and said: This central land of reed plains has always been waste and wild.

6. N. p. 39. Aston, Vol. I, p. 60.

The very rocks and trees, and huts were all given to violence. But I have now reduced it to submission, and there is none who can complain.' "

Therefore he said finally: "It is I, and I alone, who now govern this land. Is there perchance, anyone who could join with me in governing the world?" Upon this a divine radiance illuminated the sea, and of a sudden there was something which floated towards him and said, "Were I not here, how couldst thou subdue this land? It is because I am here that thou hast been enabled to accomplish this mighty undertaking." Then Ōnamuji inquired saying: "Then who art thou?" It replied and said: "I am thy guardian spirit, the wonderous spirit." Then said Ōnamuji: "True I know therefore that thou art my guardian spirit, the wonderous spirit, where dost thou now wish to dwell?" The spirit answered and said: "I wish to dwell on Mount Mimuro in the province of Yamato." Accordingly he built a shrine in that place and made the spirit go and dwell there.

This is the Kami of Ōmiwa."[7]

Meanwhile Amaterasu was still ruling in Takamanohara.

But she was anxious to send her heir Amenooshiho who married Takamimusubi's daughter, to rule Japan, for the islands had been produced by her father Izanagi. Therefore calling the Kami together she took counsel with them to determine the best means of accomplishing her purpose. The Kami Amenohohi was then sent to Izumo to persuade Ōnamuji to abdicate. But after three years when the messenger failed to return, she sent his son. But he too remained away.

Thereupon the Kami in council decided to send the brave Kami Amenowaka to Izumo. But he added disloyalty to negligence by marrying the daughter of Ōnamuji. Again the Kami

7. N. pp. 39-40. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 60-61.

Council was convened by Amtaerasu and her coadjutor, Takamimusubi, and at this time the Kami Takemikatzuchi and Futtsu were commissioned to go to Izumo and to employ force if necessity required. These two descended to Izumo and delivered the Heavenly message to Ōnamuji saying: "Amaterasu has charged and sent us to ask saying, 'We have designed to charge our august child with thy dominion as the land which he shall govern.'[7] What is thy intention? Wilt thou stand aside or no?"[8] Thereupon Ōnamuji after consultation with his eldest son Kotoshiro who advised him saying, "The Heavenly Kami has now addressed to us this inquiry. My father ought respectfully to withdraw, nor will I make any opposition,"[9] made this reply: "My son, on whom I rely, has already departed. I too, will depart. If I were to make resistance all the Gods of this land would certainly resist also. But as I now respectfully withdraw, who else will be so bold as to refuse submission."[10] Forthwith, he handed a broad spear to the envoys, saying, "By means of this spear I was at last successful, if the Heavenly august child will use this spear to rule the land, he will undoubtedly subdue it to tranquillity."[11]

Thus he abdicated and retired to the new palace which had been built for him by order of the Takamanohara Court. The Kami Amenohohi was commissioned to wait upon him.

Izumo being pacified, Amaterasu summoned her grandchild Ninigi whom she had designated as the ruler of Japan in place of his father Amenooshiho, and solemnly declared, "This rich country is the territory over which my descendants shall be the Lords. Do thou, my august grandchild proceed thither and govern it. Go, and may prosperity attend thy dynasty. May it

8. K. pp. 47-48. Chamberlain, p. 101.
9. N. p. 45. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 68-69.
10. N. p. 45. Aston, Vol I, p. 69.
11. N. p. 45. Aston, Vol. I, p. 69.

like Heaven and Earth endure forever."[12] With these words she bestowed upon him three treasures, the curved jewel of Yasaka, the bronze mirror of Yata, and the sword of Amenomurakumo, saying: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were our august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing Us."[13] She also ordered the Kami, Amenokoyane, Futodama and a multitude of others to follow Ninigi.

On the road, Ninigi and his party were met by an earthly Kami from Ise named Saruta who offered to be his vanguard. They then descended to peak of Mount Takachiho in Hiuga. From here Ninigi went to Cape Kasasa where he received the earthly Kami Nagasa who offered Ninigi his country. Ninigi was delighted, saying, "This place is opposite to the land of Kara (Korea), one comes straight across to the august Cape of Kasasa, and it is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, a land which the evening sun's light illuminates. So this place is an exceedingly good place."[14] Here a new palace was built and all the Kami served him with the same rites that were observed in Takamanohara.

Ninigi married the Lady Konohanasakuya, "Brilliant Blossom," a daughter of the Kami of Mountains, the son of Izanagi. This Kami also sent Ninigi his elder daughter, the Lady Enduring-as-Rock. But she was not welcomed at the Palace. Thereupon the Kami of Mountains angrily declared that the lives of the Heavenly sovereigns would be comparatively short. The Lady Konohanasakuya bore Ninigi two sons, Hosuseri and Hohodemi.

Hosuseri and Hohodemi adopted fishing and hunting, respectively, as their vocations. One day Hohodemi suggested that they exchange pursuits. But unfortunately he lost his brother's

12. N. p. 50. Aston, Vol. I, p. 77.
13. K. p. 51. Chamberlain, p. 109.
14. K. p. 52. Chamberlain, pp. 112-113.

hook. Hosuseri demanded that he return it and nothing that Hohodemi could do could make him change his mind. So, weeping and lamenting, Hohodemi wandered along the sea-shore. Here he came upon the Kami of salt who advised him to consult with the Kami of the Sea. When Hohodemi arrived at the palace of this Kami, he met the beautiful Lady Toyotama, daughter of the sea Kami, whom he married. Her father welcomed him, and, bestowing upon him two jewels which make the tide ebb and flow, instructed him to defeat his brother in fishing.

Hohodemi returned to Japan on the back of a crocodile, and faithfully followed the sea Kami's instruction, with results so disastrous to Hosuseri that he was forced to beg Hohodemi for his life, promising that he and all of his descendants would serve his younger brother and his children. Thus the throne fell to Hohodemi. He resided at Takachiho, where Fukiaeji was born.

Fukiaeji married his aunt, the Lady Tamayori, daughter of the sea Kami. Four children were born to them, namely, Itsuse, Inahi, Mikenu and Senu (later the Emperor Jimmu).

Prince Inahi went to the sea Plain, while Mikenu crossed into the Eternal land. Prince Senu and his elder brother, Itsuse, dwelling at the Palace of Takachiho, took counsel together, saying, "By dwelling in what place shall we most quietly carry on the government of the Empire? It were probably best to go east."[15]

Thereupon they advanced eastward by sea. "So when they arrived at Usa in the Land of Toyo (Bugen) two of the natives, the Prince of Usa and the Princess of Usa, built a Palace raised on one foot, and offered them a great august banquet. Removing thence, they dwelt for one year at the Palace of Okada in Tsukushi (Chikugen).

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15. K. p. 63. Chamberlain, p. 130.

"Again making a progress up from that land, they dwelt seven years at the Palace of Takeri in Aki. Again removing and making a progress up from that land, they dwelt eight years at the Palace of Takashima in Kibi."[16] Guided by Shienetsu they proceeded from Takashima through Naniwa to Kusaka in Kinai. Here they engaged in their first battle with the Yamato troops of Chief Nagasune. The battle resulted in the defeat of Prince Senu and Prince Itsuse was fatally wounded.

Attributing their defeat to the fact that they fought facing the sun, they decided to change their position and proceeded by sea to Kamayama of Kii, where Prince Itsuse died. Prince Senu then subdued the neighboring provinces. After this he encountered the Chief of Tobe. During the hard fighting which followed, a native (Kumano) Takakuraji came to his aid. On account of this, the expeditionary troops were in high spirits. Prince Senu then proceeded to the interior of Yamato. But mountains were so steep that his troops could not cross them. At this juncture the spirit of Amaterasu sent the Sun-Crow (Yatagarasu) to guide them. The troops pushed on and at Uda encountered the Ukeshi brothers. The younger surrendered, but the elder resisted. He was finally killed, however, by General Michi, a distinguished commander of Prince Senu. The natives of Yoshino welcomed his army and their chiefs expressed their desire to be subject to them.

Hearing that in Kunimi there were armies of brigands, both men and women, and that the two brothers Shiki were prepared to defy them, Prince Senu made vessels of clay from Mount Kagu in Yamato and offered them to the Heavenly spirits, praying for divine assistance, after which he subdued these enemies. He then encountered Nagasune in a fierce battle. When his troops were nearly exhausted, suddenly a golden kite perched on the end of his bow, which so dazzled his enemy's troops that

16. K. p. 63. Chamberlain, p. 131.

they became powerless. "Thereupon Nagasune sent a messenger on foot, who addressed Prince Senu, saying, 'There was formerly a child of the Heavenly Kami, who came down from Heaven to dwell here riding in a Rock-boat of Heaven. His name was Nigihayahi. He took to wife my younger sister, of whom he at length had a child, named Umashimate. Therefore did I take Nigihayahi for my Lord, and did serve to him. Can it be that there are two seeds of the children of the Heavenly Kami? Why should any one take the name of child of the Heavenly Kami and therewith rob people of their dominions? I have pondered this in my heart, but have as yet failed utterly to believe it.' The Prince said, 'There are many other children of the Heavenly Kami. If he whom thou hast taken as thy Lord were truly a child of the Heavenly Kami, there would be surely some object which thou couldst show us by way of proof.'

Nagasune accordingly brought a single Heavenly feathered arrow of Nigihayahi, and a foot-quiver, and exhibited them respectfully to the Prince. The Prince examined them, and said: 'These are genuine.' Then in his turn he showed to Nagasune the single Heavenly feathered arrow and quiver which he wore. When Nagasune saw the Heavenly token, he became more and more embarrassed. But the murderous weapons were already prepared, and things were in such a state that he was unable to pause in his career. Therefore he adhered to his misguided scheme, and would not alter his purpose.

Nigihayahi, knowing from the first that the Heavenly Kami had simply generously bestowed the Empire on the Heavenly grandchild and that in view of the perverse disposition of Nagasune, it would be useless to instruct him in the relation of Heaven to Man, put him to death. He then came with his army and made submission."[17]

17. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 128-129.

Thus Nagasune was subdued. But here and there scattered bands of brigands offered resistance and Prince Senu crushed them one by one, conquering the whole of Yamato.

Whereupon he assembled all the armies and declared: "During the six years that our expedition against the east has lasted, owing to my reliance on the Majesty of Imperial Heaven, the wicked bands have met death. It is true that the frontier lands are still unpurified, and that a remnant of evils is still refractory. But in the region of the central land there is no more wind and dust. Truly we should make a vast and spacious capital, and plan it great and strong. At present, things are in a crude and obscure condition, and the people's minds are unsophisticated. They roost in nests and dwell in caves. Their manners are simply what is customary. Now, if a great man were to establish laws, justice could not fail to flourish."[18]

Kashiwabara of Yamato was selected as the Imperial Capital and an order was issued to erect an Imperial Palace. Prince Senu then married the Lady Isuzu, daughter of the Kami Kotoshiro, son of Onamuji of Izumo. In the spring of the following year 660 B. C. he solemnly ascended the throne, proclaiming himself the first Emperor of Japan. He is known in History as the Emperor Jimmu.

We have seen that both the Kojiki and Nihongi were compiled in the eighth century of the Christian era, a time subsequent to the introduction into Japan, of Chinese letters and Buddhism, and of the establishment of a strong centralized government modeled after the Chinese Tang institutions, and that the compilers of these writings not only worked under the Imperial instruction but tended to project the ideas of their own or immediately preceding time into the primaeval past.

18. Aston, Vol. I, p. 131.

It is natural, therefore, that the Japanese legend contained in these writings reflects these influences. For example, we find in the Chinese legend the tranquil River or the Milky Way, Sun and Moon, which were born from the body of Panku, who chiseled out the Universe, the divination by cracks in a deer's shoulder blade, etc., all of which are similar to accounts in the Japanese legend. Izanami's remark that she had already eaten the food of the under-world resembles the Indian story of Nachiketas and Izanagi's visit to the underworld appears to be a reproduction of the Grecian legend of Orpheus and Eurydice, which is based on the Babylonian myth of Ishtar.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Japanese brought these foreign ideas with them or received them through China. But the existence of these influences in the Japanese legend is further proved by Dr. Saith's archaeological investigation,[19] wherein he points out that the Sanko which the Japanese Buddhist priests hold can be traced to the one which, three or four centuries before Christ, was associated with the Greek Gods. He further shows that the Komainu (watch dogs) at the entrance of the Japanese shrines are similar to those used in Babylon 4,000 years ago.

When we rationalize the Japanese legend, we must not only carefully consider these facts but exercise the greatest caution in criticising every page of the records.

Before proceeding to a critical examination of the legend we shall briefly state the prevalent Japanese interpretation. Most students agree to begin with the creation of the Japanese islands as well as many Kami by a Kami couple Izangi and Izanami interpreting it as the consolidation and pacification of Japan by this couple.

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19. "Waseda-gakuhō," May, 1912.

According to their opinion the Kami couple, having their base in some small island in the present Osake Bay, pacified the aborigines of Japan and when the islands were consolidated, they made their daughter Amaterasu (the Goddess of the Sun) ruler of Japan. Takamanohara was not the name of her domain but of her seat of government, which is identical with the present Ise or Yamato, because there we find names, Takamano, Mount Kagu, etc. Tsukiyomi was sent to a place in southern China, Yorunokuni being identical with the country of the Sunset, namely, China. Susanoo was assigned to southern Korea, Unabara being identical with the Ancient Silla. Thus the Kami couple's realm which embraced Japan, southern Korea and southern China, was partitioned among their three children.

Susanoo went to Korea, but soon returned, leaving his son Itakeru to rule in his place. He settled at Izumo, which, being so far from Takamanohara, could not receive protection from that Court. Thereupon, Susanoo pacified this province and established his own principality, independent of the Takamanohara Court. His son, Ōnamuji, assisted by Sukunahikona, son of Takamimusubi, who came from southern China, made Izumo a flourishing country. Hearing of this prosperous province Amaterasu sitting at Takamanohara (Yamato) decided to take the affairs of Izumo into her own hand. She sent envoys but Ōnamuji, Chief of Izumo, was not willing to comply with her request. Finally Amaterasu sent her warriors to demand his abdication on the ground that the whole of Japan belonged to her as the legitimate successor of Izanagi and Izanami. Ōnamuji possessed (Ushuhaku) Izumo as his private property, but Amaterasu demanded it by virtue of her sovereign right (Shirasu). Kotoshiro, the Izumo Chief's son, advised him to abdicate, saying that Amaterasu and her direct descendants were the august sovereigns of Japan. The Chief's second son refused to obey, but the envoy's military force reduced him to submission.

Thereupon Ōnamuji respectfully expressed his intention of abdication. Amaterasu, delighted by the great reverence paid her by the Izumo family, deified Ōnamuji at the Palace in Izumo and Amenohohi, a member of her family, was made to serve him. This Palace is the present Great Shrine of Izumo (Izumo-Taisha) and Amenohohi's descendants are the present Senge and Kitashima families.

Izumo was now pacified, but Tsukushi (present southern Kiushiu) was in a state of turmoil. Therefore Amaterasu, assisted by Takami-musubi, whose daughter married Amenooshihi, Amaterasu's heir, planned to send her grandchild Ninigi to smite the brigands.

When Ninigi's expeditionary army was about to set out, Amaterasu summoned him, and, bestowing upon him a bronze mirror of Yata, a curved jewel of Yasakani and an iron sword of Amenomurakumo as tokens of authority, declared that "this land is the land over which thou shalt rule."[20] She ordered Amenokoyane (the ancestor of Nakatomi family, later Fujiwara) and Futodama (the ancestor of Imibe family) to follow him as administrators of the Shinto rites. Besides these she commanded Amenousume (the ancestress of Saru-me-no-Kimi) to take charge of sacred music and dancing, and Amenooshihi (the ancestor of military clan of Ōtomo) and Ōkume (the ancestor of military clan of Kume) to lead armies.

Saruta of Ise guided Ninigi's party to Takachiho of Hiuga in Kiushiu, probably taking the sea route from Naniwa or Kii via Shikoku to Hiuga. Ninigi built a palace at Kasasa (the present Kaseda of Satsuma) and, preserving the three treasures given by Amaterasu as the tokens of the Japanese sovereign, lived there. He married a daughter of the local chief of Tsukushi.

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20. Chamberlain, p. 107.

After his death his two sons, Hosuseri and Hohodemi, quarreled.

Hohodemi, who was aided by the King of Silla, his father-in-law, was at last victorious over his elder brother. Hosuseri, vanquished, became his servant, and was the ancestor of the Hayato.

Hohodemi ruled at Takachiho and was succeeded by his son Fukiaeji, who married his mother's sister, daughter of the King of Silla. They had four children, Itsuse, Inahi, Mikenu and Senu.

Mikenu went to southern China, Inahi to Silla, his mother's country, while the eldest, Prince Itsuse, and the youngest, Prince Senu, remained at the Palace of Takachiho. These two took counsel together and decided to go to the east, Yamato, the seat of their great ancestress' capital. Meanwhile, Yamato, after Ninigi's departure for Tsukushi, fell into disorder and, at the time that Prince Senu was preparing to go there, many local chieftains were occupying the country among whom Nagasune was the most powerful. Nagasune acknowledged as his Lord, Prince Nigihayahi, a brother of Ninigi.

Prince Senu's party moved by sea to Usa of Tsukushi, thence to Takashima of Kibi, and from there to Kusaka, somewhere in Kinai facing Osaka Bay. His first battle was fought with Nagasune at Kusaka, in which Prince Itsuse was fatally wounded. The prince changed his course, and from Kii, finally conquered Nagasune and other brigands. During his contest, Nagasune sent a messenger to Prince Senu, saying that Nigihayahi is the legitimate ruler of Yamato, for which statement he presented proofs. But Senu was able to show similar proofs. Nagasune and the natives of Yamato recognized that Prince Senu's claim was genuine. Nevertheless they continued fighting. Finally, however, Nigihayahi killed Nagasune and with his son Umashi-

mate surrendered to Prince Senu, who commended him and made him one of his generals. The descendants of this general became the military clan Mononobe.

Prince Senu then married the lady Isuzu, daughter of Kotoshiro, son of the Izumo Chief Ōnamuji, after which he caused himself to be crowned Emperor of Japan.[21]

Students who thus interpret the Japanese legend contend that upon the pacification of the aborigines, Izanagi, the patriarch of the Japanese people, designated his daughter Amaterasu as the ruler of Japan, by the inherent right belonging to the direct descendants of the original trinity, Amenominakanushi, Takamimusubi and Kammusubi. Amaterasu, the Goddess of the Sun, sitting at Takamanohara, in turn transferred her right to her august grandchild Ninigi, declaring, " This rich country is the territory over which my descendants shall be the Lords. Do thou, my august grandchild, proceed thither and govern it. Go and may prosperity attend thy dynasty, may it, like Heaven and earth, endure forever."[22]

The three treasures which she bestowed upon Ninigi were indeed the token of this inherent authority, and have been transmitted to the present Emperor. The grand foundation of our Imperial authority was therefore laid down by this Takamanohara declaration. Consequently the Yamato conquest by the Emperor Jimmu cannot be regarded as the origin of the Empire. It was only the reconquest of Yamato, for Yamato was once Takamanohara, the capitol of the Goddess of the Sun, as well as the trinity of the Creator.

It is on this ground that Professor N. Hozumi expounds the patriarchal origin of the Japanese state. "The Nation is considered as forming one vast family, the Imperial House stand-

21. See for instance Dr. Ariga's NihonkoKuho-Gaku, Vol. I, pp. 1-36.
22. Aston, Vol. I, p. 77.

ing at its head as the principal family, and all subjects under it as members of Houses which stand in the relation of branch family to the Imperial House.

It is for that reason the word Oyake or Great House, which is now usually used in the meaning of Public or sometimes of government, was formerly very frequently used in the sense of Imperial Court or the Emperor. It is for the same reason, again, that the Imperial House has no clan or family name."[23]

This theory is undoubtedly plausible and it has been accepted by Japanese people for many years as the explanation of the origin of the state. But it is impossible for the modern student to base his conclusions upon this interpretation of the legend without further examination of external evidences.

Considering the legend closely we are struck by the importance of identifying Takamanohara, for this is the key to the legend and upon it depends the solution of the problem of the origin of the Japanese state.

When the Kami couple, Izanagi and Izanami, arrived at the Island of Onogoro, Takamanohara seems to have been either a foreign country or Heaven. Yet when Amaterasu was ruling Takamanohara it appears to have been Yamato, since there are some place names in this section similar to those in Takamanohara.

This suggests to some students that Takamanohara can be identified with either China, Korea or Yamato.

If Takamanohara was either China or Korea, why did Ninigi arrive at Hiuga instead of going to Izumo or some other neighboring province? The Chinese records[24] state that the Japanese were descended from the Chinese rulers, but, as has been shown

23. Hozumi. "Ancestor-worship and Japanese Law," p. ~~103.~~ 995
24. See the chapter of racial sources.

in a preceding chapter, external evidences are insufficient to prove this claim.

If, on the other hand, Takamanohara was in Yamato, why did Izanagi perform the task of pacifying Japan from the island of Onogoro, a place most inconveniently situated for such an undertaking? Why, again, did Amaterasu mysteriously disappear from Takamanohara after Ninigi's descent into Hiuga, leaving Yamato to the mercy of bands of brigands? What became of Tsukiyomi, the Kami of Moon, after he was sent to the country of Night?

The geographical distribution of dolmens in Japan indicates that of the three centers of ancient Japanese culture, namely, Izumo, Tsukushi (the northern half of Kiushiu), and Yamato, Izumo was the oldest. Moreover the legend itself describes Izumo as a flourishing country, whereas it makes no mention of any particular state of prosperity in Takamanohara, Tsukushi or Yamato.

Taking all these points into consideration, may we not conclude that Takamanohara as such never really existed in either Japan or any foreign country?

What, then, is the meaning of the frequent allusions to Takamanohara in the legend?

There seems little doubt that, generally speaking, all historical records have been made to serve some purpose besides merely recording ancient happenings, and that they reflect to a greater or less extent the conditions of the time at which they were written.

From our study of the circumstances under which the Kojiki and Nihongi were compiled, we see that these annals are no exception to this rule. And so, if we inquire further into the political conditions existing during the time in which they were

produced, may it not be possible for us to find some satisfactory explanation of the Takamanohara episode?

By the year 457 A. D., the probable beginning of the authentic history of Japan, we find the strong Emperor (Yuryaku) holding his court at Yamato and exercising his power most effectively, not only in Japan, but also in the southern kingdoms of Korea.[25]

During the reign of the Emperor Kimmei (540-571) two rival heads of clans, Monomobe and Soga, together with a Shinto High Priest, Nakatomi, were participating in the government, each seeking supremacy.

In 545 the King of Pèkché presented the Yamato Court with an image of Buddha. Seven years later, Pèkché again sent a copper image of Buddha and copies of some of the sacred books, with the following message: "This doctrine is, among all, most excellent, but it is difficult to explain and difficult to understand. Even the Duke of Chou (the Chinese sage) and Confucius did not attain to comprehension. It can produce fortune and retribution, immeasurable, illimitable. It can transform a man into Bodhi. Imagine a treasure capable of satisfying all desires in proportion as it is used! Such a treasure is this wonderful doctrine. Every earnest supplication is fulfilled and nothing is wanting. Moreover from farthest India to the three Han (Korea) all have embraced the doctrine, and there is none that does not receive it with reverence wherever it is preached. Therefore thy servant, Myong (the King of Pèkché), in all sincerity, sends his retainer, Nori Sachhi, to transmit it to the Imperial Country, that it may be diffused abroad throughout the home provinces (Yamato) so as to fulfill the recorded saying of the Buddha, 'My Law shall spread to the east.' "[26]

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25. N. pp. 233-260.
26. N. p. 331. Aston, Vol. II, p. 66.

The Emperor Kimmei, encouraged by Sogano-Iname, head of the Soga Clan, was inclined to accept this new religion. But Mononobe, head of the Military Clan, and Nakatomi, the Shinto Priest, objected to its introduction.

From this time the factional struggle became one for and against Buddhism. After a protracted contest, the Soga clan, favored by the Emperors, succeeded in exterminating the Mononobe Clan, and at the same time reducing the power of the Shinto priest. It was after this struggle that Sogano-Umako, head of the victorious clan, co-operating with Prince Shotoku, a Buddhist and a great reformer, compiled the national history as well as the catalogue of families, which were burned on the eve of the Soga downfall. Buddhism, having been adopted by the ruling class, spread rapidly among the people. But the real motive of the Soga clan in advocating the new religion was not religious, but purely secular based upon greed and the desire to gain military and economic supremacy over rival clans. After accomplishing their purpose and finding no strong clans to oppose them, the Sogas naturally came into conflict with the Imperial authority, and by their high-handed conduct, they finally brought about the political subordination of Imperial prerogatives, which became merely nominal, while the Sogas were actual rulers of the nation.

The desperate situation of Nakatomi, the high priest of Shinto, can be easily imagined! But, in spite of their humiliating condition the Shinto priests headed by Nakatomi were using every means to find a way to regain their former strength.

At the same time the situation of the Imperial family was deplorable. They therefore made common cause with the Shinto priests in endeavoring to throw off the tyrannical rule of the Sogas. For a long time, they worked together secretly and finally the day of reckoning came. In the year 645 A. D., upon

the arrival of the Korean Envoys at the Yamato Court with tribute, the brave Prince Nakano-Ohoye, aided by Nakatomi's party, killed Sogano-Iruka, the Soga heir, on his way from Court. The troops then attacked the Soga palaces and exterminated the family.

This is known in Japanese history as the coup d'état of 645 A. D.[27]

Upon the triumph of the reformers, Empress Kogyoku voluntarily abdicated, and on the advice of the foresighted statesman, Nakatomino Kamako, the mild, gentle, elderly Prince Karu became Emperor (Kotoku), for it was plain that to place upon the throne Prince Nakano-Ohoye, an energetic leader, would arouse a reactionary movement and precipitate a bitter struggle. He was therefore content to be named as Prince Imperial. Upon his accession, Emperor Kotoku, in announcing Taika as the name by which his reign should be known, made the following declaration: "Heaven covers us, earth upbears us, the Imperial way is but one, yet in this degenerate age the order of Lord and vassal was perverted, until Supreme Heaven by our hands put to death the traitors. From this day forth, the Emperor will no longer divide his power, and his subjects will no longer divide their allegiance. Upon any person who ignores this edict, Heaven will lay a curse of death"[28]

Then they began the work of reorganizing the government following the Chinese Tang system. They also made extensive social and economic reforms. The result is known as the Great Reform of Taika.

Thus the Imperial authority was once more restored to the throne, but, at the same time, the rising tide of the Shinto cult and power of its high priest Nakatomi were irresistible.

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27. N. pp. 42-424.
28. Aston, Vol. II, pp. 197-198.

In 669 A. D., when the Emperor Tenchi (formerly Prince Nakano-Ohoye) was reigning, his great Minister Nakatomino-Kamako died. During Nakatomi's last illness the Emperor visited him, in spite of the objection of the other ministers to such an unprecedented action. After this visit, His Majesty conferred upon the dying statesman the name of Fujiwara-Kamatari. He was buried on the summit of Tamu, where stands a shrine in his memory.

The extent of the Fujiwara's (formerly Nakatomi) influence over the Imperial Court can be seen by the famous Code of Taihō promulgated in 702 A. D., which shows that the Jingikwan, or "Board of Shinto religion," stood at the head of all other governmental organs,[29] and this great office belonged to the Fujiwara family.

Dr. Ariga attempts to explain why the Jingikwan was placed first: "If a state has its origin in military prowess, which is essentially human, then by human agencies also a state may be overthrown. Insure against such vicissitudes a throne must be based upon something superior to man's potentialities. Divine authority alone fulfills that definition, and it is because the throne of Japan had a super human foundation that its existence is perennial. Therefore the Jingikwan stands above all others in the government."[30] But it goes without saying that this explanation ignores the historical events stated above.

The Code of Taihō was the work of an Imperial Commission headed by Fujiwara-Fuhito, son of Fujiwara-Kamatari, whose daughter was a consort of the Emperor Mommu (697-707 A. D.).[31]

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29. Taihō-no-Ritsu-Ryo.
30. Ariga, "Kodai-hō-Shakugi," pp. 29-30.
31. Zokunihongi.

At the time that the Kojiki and Nihongi were compiled, Fuhito was exercising tremendous power in the Court,[32] and the national histories covering the period from the reign of the Emperor Mommu to that of the Emperor Kōkō (697-887 A. D.) were compiled principally by the Fujiwaras. These histories, together with the Nihongi, are known as the six national histories (Rokkokushi). Moreover the "Rules and Regulations of the three generations" (Sandai-Kakushiki) which were promulgated during the years 810-923 A. D., were also the work of the Fujiwara family. The catalogue of families (Seishiroku), completed in 814 A. D., was another undertaking of this family.

Thus the great task of historical work, as well as law making, was entrusted to the descendants of Nakatomi, whose ancestors had been only Shinto priests. It is also interesting to note that from the time that the daughter of Fuhito became Imperial Consort, many Empresses have been chosen from this family, even down to the present day.

Such is the historical background of the Kojiki and Nihongi.

It is easy to ascertain from the Nihongi and, for that matter, from the Kojiki that the scattered myths, traditions and records were collected and from them those accounts selected which were best calculated to glorify not only the Imperial line but the families of the powerful nobles.

If we keep in mind the fact that the legends and records were chosen by the Fujiwara (Nakatomi) family who exercised tremendous power at court and who were descendants of the Shinto priests, and again consider the Japanese legend contained both in the Kojiki and Nihongi, together with the archaeological evidences of three centers of early Japanese culture, we may begin to get some light upon the legend of Takamanohara or "Plain of High Heaven."

32. Zokunihongi.

But to what conclusion does this light lead us?

The preceding chapter makes it clear that the early Japanese immigrated from Korea. The earliest among them settled in Izumo perhaps under the Chieftainship of Izanagi and Izanami, and by the efforts of Susanoo and Ōnamuji, Izumo became powerful and prosperous, extending its sway over the neighboring provinces. During this later development of Izumo, another immigration of Japanese, probably under the leadership of Ninigi, took place in Tsukushi (somewhere in northern Kiushiu).

In the course of time, the Izumo people moved to Yamato in order to establish a center near the Yemishi frontier. For the same reason the inhabitants of Tsukushi proceeded toward Hiuga. Subsequently, the Izumo people at Yamato began to separate into smaller groups on account of factional struggles, and bands of brigands appeared here and there.[33] Meanwhile the Tsukushi people at Hiuga also had internal dissentions which were probably referred to in the legend by the story of Hosuseri and Hohodemi. So here, as in Yamato, bands of brigands infected the land. Many years elapsed before Prince Senu, the great military leader of the Tsukushi, finally began his conquest of Yamato. He organized an expedition and proceeded into Yamato, where after long and hard fighting he reduced the Chiefs to submission, thereby gaining supreme power over Japan.

Among his followers, the ancestors of Nakatomi and Imibe were perhaps serving as Shinto priests.

Between the Yamato conquest and the sixth century A. D., the Japanese people had no reliable records but depended chiefly upon oral transmissions of the stories of Izumo, Tsukushi, and Yamato. During the latter part of this period the influence of Chinese classics and Buddhism began to be felt and the Japanese

33. Supported by the accounts of Kotoshiro, Itakeru and the great shrine of Miwa.

legend did not escape the effects of this influence. At the time of the Empress Suiko it became the fashion to learn Chinese classics and Buddhist doctrines. The Great Minister Sogano-Umako, desirous of glorifying his clan, co-operated with Prince Shotoku, who earnestly wished to have a national history compiled. This work has been lost, but had it remained it probably would have been of a widely different character from either the Kojiki or Nihongi. After the downfall of the Soga family, the Emperors desired to have a grand Imperial history. But it is possible that they would have accomplished very little along this line without the assistance of the Fujiwara family. Therefore the Emperors nominated members of this family to take charge of the work of compiling the national history.

Naturally, the Fujiwaras were eager to associate the glory of their family with that of the Imperial line. But since they and their ancestors were high priests of Shinto they dealt with the history from the standpoint of that cult.

In this task, however, the Fujiwaras were confronted by the existence of two cycles of independent legends, namely, those of Izumo and Tsukushi. It is obvious that a connecting link must be found to unify these independent legends, and it was for this purpose that the Takamano-hara episode was adopted or created.

The story was so constructed as to make it appear that, even though Tsukushi came into existence later than Izumo, originally the whole of Japan belonged to Takamanohara. For this reason, Izumo had no right to an independent existence, and so the story of Ōnamuji's abdication, together with the account of the establishment of the great shrine of Izumo and the origin of the present Senge and Kitashima families, appears in the legend in order to expound the patriarchal principle. Another problem which had to be solved by the compilers of the annals was the justification of the Yamato conquest by Prince Senu according

to the patriarchal principle. For this purpose, they again used Takamanohara, and also the story of Nigihayahi, the ancestor of the mononobe clan. In all their references to Takamanohara, they made it resemble the Yamato of their own time, idealized according to the beliefs of Shinto.

The terms Heavenly Kami and Earthly Kami, which really referred to the inhabitants of Tsukushi and other people, seem to have been created in connection with this Takamanohara episode.

If, therefore, the stories of Amaterasu (The Goddess of the Sun) and the three treasures were true, they must have been related to Tsukushi.

The belief that Takamanohara was adopted or created by the compilers of the annals seems to be further supported by the Shinto rites. In every house in Japan we keep at present a charm of Amaterasu (the Goddess of the Sun) and on Shinto festivals the sacred car containing a spirit of Shinto Kami (superior) is guided by Saruta who is also described in the Japanese legend as the vanguard of Ninigi, the august grandchild of Amaterasu.

One of the shinto rituals, which is said to have been recited by Nakatomi on many occasions, also supports the artificial creation of Takamanohara. Dr. Florenz has translated it admirably into German. It reads: "Ich künde: In der erlauchten Gegenwart des Suveräns, des edlen Kindes von Gross-Yamato, welcher als menschlich-gegenwärtiger erlauchter Gott das grosse Land der acht Inseln regiert, stelle ich ehrerbietigst die Lobrede auf Grund der Gratulations-worte des himmlischen Gottes fest.

"Des suveräns teures Göttliches Ahnenpaar, welches in hohen Himmelsgefilde göttlich residert, versammelte allergnädigst durch seinen Befehl die acht Millionen Götter und legte im hohen Himmelsgefilde die Grundlage zur Verwaltung und erteilte ihm

ehrerbietig Befehl mit den Worten: 'Seine Hoheit der Suveräne erlauchte Enkel soll das Land der frischen Reisähren des üppigen Schefgefildes als ruhiges Land friedlich regieren und auf dem himmlischen hohen erhabenen Sitz der himmlischen Thronfolge erhaben wohnen und als himmlisches erlauchtes Mahl (und) longdauernde erlauchte Speise und fernhindauernde erlauchte Speise tausend Herbste und fünfhundert Herbste frische Reisähren friedlich und ruhig in gereinigten Hofe Geneissen!' Und nachdem er vom Himmel herabgekommen war diente der entfernte Ahn der Nakatomi Seine Hoheit Ameno Koyane[34] ehrerbietig in der erlauchten Gegenwart seiner Hoheit des erlauchten suveränen Enkels. . . . . ."[35]

This is, of course, an hypothesis. But if we can accept this explanation of the possible significance of Takamanohara in the Japanese legend it becomes easy to solve the problem of the origin of the Japanese State.

As archaeological research has shown, the geographical distribution in western Japan, of double mounds which are regarded as the tombs of higher personages, suggests that in ancient times there were many petty principalities, each having its own king or chief. If we consider the legend without the Takamanohara episode, we find that it also indicates the existence of petty kingdoms.

Thus, when Ninigi arrived at Tsukushi, he found a local chief Nagasa and the Kami of the Mountains. The quarrel between Hosuseri and Hohodemi point to the existence of petty principalities in Kiushiu. When Prince Senu was in Tsukushi, he married the daughter of Wobashi, the local Chief of Ada, and

34. The alleged ancestor of the Nakatomi, subsequently the Fujiwara family.

35. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellshaft für Natur und Völkerkünde Ostasiens, in Tokio, Supplement-Helf zu Band VI, pp. 56-57. C. f. Norito (Nakatomi-Harae).

afterward, proceeding toward the east, he encountered numerous chieftains in central Japan, among whom Kotoshiro, whose daughter he married at Yamato, and Nagasune were probably the most powerful. Even the Izumo rulers before they removed to Yamato do not appear to have extended their sway beyond the neighboring provinces.

We may therefore fairly say that before Prince Senu's conquest of Yamato there was no one who exercised great power over a considerable geographical area and its inhabitants.

Prince Senu's Yamato conquest was not reconquest, as is contended by those holding the patriarchal theory, but was prompted by a desire for economic and territorial expansion. The Nihongi states that " 'now I (Prince Senu, residing at Tsukushi) have heard from an old man that in the east there is a fair land encircled on all sides by blue mountains. I think that this land will undoubtedly be suitable for the extension of the Heavenly task. Why should we not proceed thither and make it the capital?' All the Princes answered and said, 'The truth of this is manifest, this thought is constantly present to our minds also. Let us go thither quickly.' "[36]

Thus it appears, both from records and external evidences, that the theory of the patriarchal origin of the Japanese state cannot be supported by scientific investigation.

If it is true that the Japanese state began with Prince Senu's Yamato conquest, when did this event take place?

The Nihongi assigns the coronation of Emperor Jimmu (Prince Senu) to the year 660 B. C., but, as we have seen, this is based only upon an arbitrary calculation. Professor Naka, comparing Chinese, Korean (especially Pèkché) and Japanese records and estimating the average life of ancient Emperors

36. Aston, Vol. I, pp. 110-111.

in these three countries to be thirty years, concludes that Jimmu's coronation probably took place in the first half of the first century B. C.[37] Dr. Kume fixes the date at 30 B. C.,[38] while Professor Yoshida puts it at 343 B. C.[39]

If we regard the following passage from the Chinese record as credible, we are inclined to accept Professor Yoshida's estimate: "The Was (the Japanese people) dwell southeast of Han (Korea) in a mountainous island in the midst of the ocean. Their country is divided into more than 100 provinces. Since the time when Wu Ti (B. C. 140-86) overthrew Korea they have communicated with the Han (the Chinese Han dynasty) authorities by means of a postal service. There are thirty-two provinces which do so, all of which style (their rulers) kings, who are hereditary. The sovereign of Great Wa (Japan) resides in Yamato."[40]

It must not be supposed, however, that all Japan was conquered by this time, for the Japanese annals speak of a state of turmoil in northern Japan as late as the twelfth Emperor Keiko's reign, and of constant fighting against the Yemishi until they were finally pacified by General Sakanoue during Emperor Kammu's reign (A. D. 782-805).

A Chinese record states that "during the reigns of Hwanti and Lint Ti (A. D. 147-190) Wa (Japan) was in a state of great confusion and there was civil war for many years, during which time there was no Chief. Then a woman arose, whose name was Pimihu (himeko in Japanese). She was old and unmarried, and had devoted herself to magic arts, by which she was clever in deluding the people. The nation agreed together to set her up

37. Shigaku-ZZashi, Vol. VIII.
38. Kume, Kodai-shi, pp. 105-106.
39. Yeshida, Nichikan-Koshidan, pp. 118-119.
40. See Aston, "Early Japanese History," p. 53.

as queen. She has 1,000 female attendants, but few people see her face, except one who serves her meals, and is the medium of communication with her. She dwells in a palace with lofty pavilions, surrounded by a stockade, and is protected by a guard of soldiers. The law and customs are strict. Leaving the queen country (Yamato) and crossing the sea to the east, one arrives after a voyage of 100 Li at the Konu Country, the inhabitants of which are of the same race as the Wa, but are not subject to the Queen."[41] This description seems to be verified by archaeological research, which points out that in Kwanto, especially Kotsuke province, there are double mounds and primitive sites suggesting the location of the capital of the Konu country.

We have in northern Japan many shrines of warriors who are associated with the Takamanohara legend. For example, there is one at Kashima to Takemikazuchi and another at Katori to Futtsu.

But they must be regarded only as a political device whereby Shinto justified force wherever it was employed by the Japanese conquerors.

This shows us that the key of Japanese history is to be found in Shinto, for, without a thorough comprehension of the significance of Shinto, which has always been the political religion of the country, we cannot hope to understand either the legend or history of Japan.

41. See Aston, "Early Japanese History," p. 55.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

Thus we have considered the origin of the Japanese state, as well as its racial origin, subjects so perplexing and fascinating that students may easily be led into ways of error. Nevertheless, in spite of mistakes in detail in the handling of our materials we seem warranted in drawing the following conclusions:

1. The Japanese came from Korea and before migrating into Korea they belonged to peoples inhabiting western Asia.

2. The patriarchal theory of the origin of the Japanese state, which is accepted and expounded by popular and scholarly writers, cannot be supported by historical and archaeological evidence and must be said to have the same validity as Filmer's theory of the origin of the English monarchy.

3. There was in Japan an aboriginal people living in a stage of culture substantially identical with that of the "savage society" described by Mr. Edward Jenks in his *History of Politics.*

4. If we turn from the misty traditions of the old chronicles to the earliest authentic accounts of government and administration in Japan we find everywhere traces of conquest and subjugation, particularly in the form of tributes.

5. In examining the substructure of the Japanese state we find elements of patriarchalism and feudalism substantially identical with those to be found in western societies in the course of their historical evolution.

6. Finally, if by "the state" we mean a person or persons possessing power effectively exercised over the inhabitants of a considerable geographical area, the Japanese state originated

in the Yamato Conquest by the Emperor Jimmu (Prince Senu).

In surveying these results, the student familiar with the literature of politics will readily discover that they bear a striking similarity to the conclusions reached by many western writers, as to the origin of the state in Europe. The English scholar, Edward Jenks, agrees with the German scholars, Oppenheimer and Treitschke,[1] and their views are substantiated by such authorities as Stubbs and Maitland. The historical view is thus summed up by Professor Charles A. Beard: "The real origin of the state, in western Europe, at least, is to be found in conquest, although it must be admitted that power-bearing individuals were previously rising within the older patriarchal group as a result of the economic discipline they were able to impose on their slaves and semi-free kinsmen.

"A military leader and his war band, in search of plunder and sources of steady income, conquer and fuse settled communities loosely united by kinship, and settle down upon the subject population as the ruling authority, absorbing surrounding areas by divers processes. General Blücher echoed the spirit of the ancient founder of the state, when, on viewing London from the dome of St. Paul's, he exclaimed, 'Was für Plunder.' In the beginning, the power of the leader is checked by his war band, but the threads of dominion are slowly gathered into his hands, especially after he becomes king and receives religious sanction, though in the exercise of his battle-born authority he may be always thwarted or swayed on many policies by his warrior aristocracy and the Church Militant."[2]

If, therefore, our theory regarding the origin of the Japanese state can be accepted, does it not show that evolution of human society has been the same in the East as in the West?

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1. Edward Jenks, *History of Politics*; Oppenheimer, *The State*; Treitschke, *Politics*, Vol. I, pp. 3-106.
2. Beard, Politics, pp. 17-18.

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